ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,

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I. *Remarks on certain Ornaments of Gold found near Quentin, in Britany, in* 1832; *presumed to have been the* μανιάκαι *of the Ancient Gauls: In a Letter from the Rev.* JOHN BATHURST DEANE, *M.A. F.S.A. to Sir* HENRY ELLIS, *K.H. F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 18th February, 1836.

MY DEAR SIR,

IN the Commune of Vieuxbourg near Quentin, in Britany, is a dilapidated Temple of the Celtic religion, which, among the multitude of such sanctuaries scattered over that ancient and interesting country, might have attracted little notice, but for a discovery within its precincts, which may rescue it from oblivion, if not from destruction.

Inclosures of this kind are known to French Antiquaries under the classical name of *Teménes*. They consist, for the most part, of a number of erect stones arranged in a *circular* or *lunar* form, and are considered, with good reason, to have been small temples. In the case before us the stones which

composed the sanctuary have been too much disturbed to allow an exact description of its original figure. On the 21st of March 1832, a peasant of the Commune was digging under these stones, in the hope of verifying an opinion prevalent throughout Britany, that in places of this kind the aboriginal possessors of the soil not unfrequently deposited their treasures. His expectations were singularly and surprisingly realized: for *under*, and almost contiguous to one of the largest blocks which occupied nearly the centre of the Teméne, he made a discovery which, whether we consider its extent or intrinsic worth, or the original character of the articles found, is among the most interesting in modern times. This was a deposit of *twelve ornaments of the person*, of pure gold, of excellent workmanship, in fine preservation, and of the enormous metallic value of above *one thousand pounds sterling!*

They were what, for want of a more suitable general name, would be usually called TORQUES; but were rather of the kind described by Greek writers as μανιάκαι; a word which they employ when speaking of the collars and bracelets of the GAULS. The *Torquis*, as its name imports, was a *twisted* annulus of two or more bars intertwined, after the manner of a rope, and, like it, of a *flexible* nature. The μανιάκης was *solid*, although occasionally fashioned into the funicular form.

The Ornaments of Vieuxbourg were of three kinds, some designed for the *throat*, others for the *arm*, and others for the *wrist*. In their figures they represented the sacred emblem of the *cornua lunæ*, being thick in the middle and tapering off towards the extremities, which were a little apart. The opening thus made was exactly opposite to the thickest part of the lune. Their curvatures varied between the limits of a circle and an ellipse of considerable eccentricity.

Ten of these ornaments are represented in two drawings which accompany this communication. The thin broad bracelet in the drawing No. 2, is one of a pair which were found near Carnac, and are now in the possession of a gentleman at Auray. The weight of each is 4 oz. 8 dwt. 8 grs., and, like the others, they are of pure gold. I have introduced them for the sake of contrast with the large and solid μανιάκαι of Quentin. They were probably the ornaments of a female; while those of Quentin belonged to men.

M. Bohard, the respectable watchmaker of Rennes who purchased them

from the discoverer, offered them to the various museums of France at a little more than their mere weight in gold; and when I saw them, within three weeks after their discovery, there were hopes that a treasure so important to antiquarian knowledge, might have been preserved. I have since learned with regret that, no purchaser appearing, the whole of this splendid collection has been consigned to the crucible!

It is some satisfaction, however, to have seen them, and more to have preserved their memorials, which I now proceed to lay before the Society.

No. 1 of Plate I. was evidently designed for the throat, both from its size and shape. It is nearly circular; and the perpendicular section of the cornua is a circle. The cornua gradually tapered off from the middle point to within a little distance of their extremities, when they again increased until they were terminated by flat circular ends, whose diameters were about one third greater than that of the smallest perpendicular section. The flatness of these extremities would seem to suggest the conjecture that the ornament was fastened about the throat of the wearer by compression. But the muscular exertion required for such a purpose is almost inconceivable. One of the ornaments (No. 5) was found in this compressed state, the two ends being brought together and in close contact. There is an objection, however, to the conjecture of compression in the case before us, arising from the appearance of the ornament itself. The *ends* were not *plain*, but adorned with a cross which divided their circular extremities into four equal parts. Had they been intended for compression, this decoration would have been useless.

But a more conclusive argument may be brought against the theory of *compression*, if the following passage from Propertius be admitted in evidence:

"Torques ab incisâ decidit *unca* gulâ."

The word *unca* very aptly describes the ornament in question, if the ends *are left apart*; but not so correctly if they are compressed. Propertius is speaking of the fall of Viridomarus a *Gallic* chief; and there is reason to suppose that he was describing the μανιάκης then generally worn by the Gauls, of which the collar before us is presumed to have been a specimen. The ornament, No. 5, whose ends meet, was a *bracelet*; it is probable therefore that the μανιάκαι for the *throat* were *open*, and those about the arms and wrists *closed*, as more liable to be lost.

The whole of the surface of the ornament, No. 1, was fashioned by waving lines into an elegant torsade; and so far, by an accommodation of terms, it may be called a *Torquis*. The Romans would have so described it; but after all, it was very different from the Roman Torquis, as we shall see in the sequel. The weight of this beautiful collar was no less than 4 lbs. 1 oz. 16 dwts. 11.75 grs., and its intrinsic value at four guineas an ounce, 209*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.*

This is, I believe, the heaviest article of its kind ever found; but another in the same collection weighed nearly as much. There is indeed a Torquis mentioned in Roman history which was larger; but the enormous weight of that (if correctly reported) proves that it never could have been intended for use. It was sent by the Gauls as a peace offering to Augustus, and weighed 100lbs.! and although this is measured by the Roman standard, which is to the English as 7 to 8, still the weight is beyond all reason, if intended to be placed upon the throat of the Roman Emperor. A single torquis of such a weight might have argued the wealth of its donors, and excited that cupidity among the Romans which afterwards led to the impoverishment of Gaul. Quintilian, who mentions this remarkable present, has preserved an anecdote to which it gave rise, somewhat characteristic of the age and parties. He cites it as an example of the *Evasio per jocum*; and as the joke is imperial, and moreover approaching to its 2000th year, it may be considered entitled to a repetition. We must premise, however, that it was a custom in the Roman army, that whenever a soldier had particularly distinguished himself in the field, and could bring witnesses of his gallantry, he might press his claim to the reward of a torquis in these words: "*Imperator, torque me dona.*" The torquis thus claimed was rarely refused. Upon this custom turns the point of the repartee, said to have been made by Augustus:

"Sic eluditur ridiculum ridiculo, ut divus Augustus cum ei Galli torquem aureum centum pondo dedissent, et Dolabella, per jocum, tentans tamen joci sui eventum, dixisset, *Imperator, torque me dona.* '*Malo te*,' inquit, '*civicâ donare.*'"[a]

Augustus seems to have been somewhat of the character of our own Charles the Second of facetious memory, who would at any time rather have rewarded a *pun* than a meritorious action. Dolabella calculated upon this weakness,

[a] Lib. vi. 3.

but Augustus, being at least an equal lover of gold, evaded it in the manner described by Quintilian; and, although the Emperor was notoriously parsimonious of the higher honours, still we may believe him when he tells Dolabella, that he would rather give him a *civic crown* than *the torquis*; the one being scarcely worth a *teruntius*, the other cheap at 600 sesterces.

Plate I. No. 2. The Collar No. 2 was elliptical; the *major axis* being to the *minor* as 3 to 2. Like No. 1, the cornua tapered gradually towards the extremities, and then increased until they were terminated by smooth flat ends of an elliptical form. The section perpendicular to the surface, was also elliptical.

This collar was *plain*, except at its thickest part, and within an inch of its extremities. The linear tracery in the middle was a collection of fine rings, terminated at each end of the cluster by an indented line. Similar tracery adorned the extremities of the cornua.

Weight 1 lb. 6 oz. 1 dwt. 9.89 grs. Value 75*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.*

Plate I. No. 3. The best preserved of all: ornamented with a demi-tresse bounded by indentures. The figure of this collar was nearly circular, as was also that of its perpendicular section, made by a plane passing through its sides.

Weight 1 lb. 5 oz. 6 dwts. 1.04 grs. Value 72*l.* 13*s.* 4½*d.*

Plate I. No. 4. A very beautiful ornament elaborately worked in four rows of the herringbone pattern, terminated by indentures. This was the richest in the whole collection in point of adornment, but one of the least in intrinsic value. Elliptical.

Weight 1 lb. 4 oz. 13 dwts. 18.47 grs. Value 69*l.* 13*s.* 5*d.*

Plate I. No. 5. A small but very thick bracelet, having its ends compressed, and in close contact as when worn. The hand of the wearer was probably cut off to obtain it, as in its closed state it could not have been drawn over the knuckles. The form of the cornua of this bracelet is adapted to the wrist, being flat within, and elliptical only on the upper side. The figure of the whole is elliptical, flattened, where the limbs meet, to suit the under part of the wrist. The section was a segment of a circle. The whole ornament was plain, but beautifully formed.

Weight 1 lb. 3 oz. 3 dwts. 12.85 grs. Value 63*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.*

Plate I. No. 6. This is of the same figure as No. 5, but *open*. It may have been

intended for an arm, or a very large wrist. It corresponds in almost every respect with No. 5, only it is much larger and heavier. Its weight is so great that we can hardly suppose it to have been designed for the decoration of a warrior in actual service. It is possible that it may have been intended for the left arm; but even then it would have been exceedingly cumbrous.

Weight 3 lb. 8 oz. 9 dwts. 14.22 grs. Value 186*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.*

This ornament was the second, in order of value, but not of beauty.

Plate II. No. 7. Elliptical; plain, except near the extremities of the cornua, where the tracery is arranged in two bands of parallel lines on either branch, each band indented at its commencement. The section, circular.

Weight 1 lb. 5 oz. 14 dwts. 23.57 grs. Value 74*l.* 10*s.* 11*d.*

Plate II. No. 8. Elliptical, adorned throughout with an irregular demi-torsade, intersected at three quarters of its breadth by a line which runs along through the whole collar. The ornament below this division is composed of straight lines, perpendicular to the line of division.

Weight 1 lb. 5 oz. 5 dwts. 23.5 grs. Value 72*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.*

Plate II. No. 9. An elegant elliptical collar, very richly ornamented with divers patterns too minute for description. They consist chiefly of a demi-tress running along the upper limb of the lune, and made up by alternations of long and short lines. These are terminated by parallel bands, with reticulated intervals. Section elliptical.

Weight 1 lb. 5 oz. 14 dwts. 23.57 grs. Value 74*l.* 10*s.* 11*d.*

Plate II. No. 10. Elliptical, handsomely though not profusely ornamented. The middle portion of the lune exhibits a reticulation; over the centre and terminations of which are three bands of lines converging towards the interior surface. The ends are finished with indentures. The extremities of the cornua are also adorned with a reticulated surface, bounded by two bands of parallel lines.

Weight 1 lb. 4 oz. 15 dwts. 18.47 grs. Value 70*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.*

No. 11 was like the last mentioned as to its shape and upper ornament. It had, however, in addition, two indented bands a little above the terminating tracery. This collar was mutilated; a small portion of its left branch having been cut off, near the end. It was found in this state.

Weight 11 oz. 10 dwts. 5.47 grs. Value 48*l.* 6*s.* 4½*d.*

No. 12 was of the same description as No. 1, but so battered as to be shapeless. It was decorated with a torsade throughout; and

Weighed 1 lb. 4 oz. 1 dwt. 15 grs. Value 67*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*

Nos. 11 and 12 were too imperfect to admit of a satisfactory drawing; but the other ten are carefully copied, and the copies compared with the lithographic representations published by M. Bohard in the circular letter which he sent to the French Societies.

The following is a tabular view of their weights and values:

No.	lbs.	oz.	dwts.	grs.	£.	s.	d.
1.	4	1	16	11.75	209	5	3
2.	1	6	1	9 89	75	17	8
3.	1	5	6	1.04	72	13	4½
4.	1	4	13	18.47	69	13	5
5.	1	3	3	12.85	63	14	10
6.	3	8	9	10.22	186	15	7
7.	1	5	14	23.57	74	10	11
8.	1	5	5	23.50	72	13	1
9.	1	5	14	23.57	74	10	11
10.	1	4	15	18.47	70	1	10
11.	0	11	10	5.47	48	6	4½
12.	1	4	1	15.00	67	10	10
Total	21	6	14	5.80	£1085	14	1

These ornaments, upon their discovery, excited great interest at Rennes, and were generally supposed to be Roman. But upon examining the subject of Torques, which has been learnedly investigated by Scheffer, and considering the arguments adduced for their Roman origin, I have no doubt whatever that they are the solid ornaments worn by the Gauls upon their throats or arms, and are what Polybius describes under the name of μανιάκαι, a word not employed to designate the Roman torques. A cursory view of the extent to which such ornaments were in use in the ancient world, will shew how far this conclusion is borne out by facts.

The origin of golden Collars, as honorary badges either of civil or military distinction, is lost in the obscurity of ages. The earliest mention of them occurs in Genesis xli. where Pharaoh is described as putting *a chain of gold* round the neck of Joseph. The meaning of this investiture seems to be the confirmation of his appointment to the viceroyalty of the kingdom. The chain, although only a part of the insignia of office, was an important, and, as we learn from subsequent examples, an indispensable part of them. The word employed is רְבִיד *(Rabeed)*, which signifies *torquis*, a *twisted chain*, or *wreath*. The Septuagint render it by the more general expression κλοιὸς, a *collar*.

The word רְבִיד is again used in Ezekiel xvi. 11, where Jerusalem is metaphorically described as decorated with "*a chain*" about the neck, like a bride. From this use of the word we may conclude, that the ornament known by that name, was a light and elegant torquis, rather than a solid collar such as those of Quentin.

Another kind of ornament for the throat is mentioned in Judges viii. 26, which was worn upon the necks of the camels of the kings of Midian. This is called עֲנָק *(ānaq)*. We find it again in Daniel v. 7, under its Chaldee variation of מְנִיקָא *(menēka)*, which is the same as מָנָךְ *(manak)*, whence probably the words μανιάκης and μανιάξ. It has been conjectured that the *anaq* was a royal badge, and hence the wearer of it was called by the Greeks Ἄναξ, *king*. From the fifth chapter of Daniel it is evident that the *manak* was the symbol of civil dignity. The prophet being invested with it, was declared by Belshazzar, "*Third ruler of the kingdom.*" The *manak* of Chaldea and the *rabeed* of Egypt were probably equivalent badges, each denoting the vice-regal authority. But the Chaldean ornament, (from the employment of the word to describe the *collars of the Gauls,*) might have been *solid*, whereas the Egyptian was *flexible*.

From the Chaldeans these collars were adopted by the Persians. Not only the King and the great Satraps, but even the celebrated guard of "The Immortals" are said to have worn them. No one, however, was permitted to assume this badge of honour, unless he had been invested with it by royal hands. From the Persians the decoration was borrowed by the Armenians and some neighbouring tribes; but it does not appear that it was ever used by the Greeks. Perhaps they affected to despise it as effeminate, because it

was the ornament of their enemies the Persians. The Romans on the other hand, adopted it as a mark of one of the highest military distinctions. The use of it was very general among them, and seems to have been borrowed from their early enemies, the Cisalpine Gauls; for the first mention of the *torquis* is in the story of Manlius, who (A. U. C. 394) tore the golden collar from the neck of a vanquished Gaul and placed it upon his own, and from that time was commonly called "Torquatus." This anecdote, whether true or invented by the old fabulists of Roman history, proves at least the general opinion of the times, that the *Golden Collar* was peculiarly a GALLIC ornament.

The "Torquati" soon became a very conspicuous part of the Roman army. They formed, as it were, a Legion of Honour, in which no difference was made between the Tribune and the common soldier. The Torquis was the badge of military merit to all who earned it. And lest, in the confusion of battle and amid the distractions of a campaign, any one might be overlooked to whom the honour was due, every one had a right to demand the torquis who could bring evidence that he deserved it. "*Imperator, torque me dona.*" was a petition which required not the interest or intercession of favourites to recommend it. On the contrary, the General who had dared to refuse it when properly supported by personal merit, would have been justly held dishonoured, and might perhaps have made atonement with his life. There were some offices in the Roman army which were always held by Torquati. That of the *Draconarius*, or bearer of "the Dragon Standard," was one of them. And such was the respect paid to this decoration, even by one of the most degenerate of the Roman Emperors, that when Hemetrius and Cheledonius, two Torquati who had embraced Christianity, were led to the stake, their torques were taken off by officers of rank —

"*Ite Signorum Magistri,*
Et vos Tribuni assistite,
Aureos auferte torques!" [a]

The Roman torquis as, was its name imports, a *twisted* ornament composed of two or more bars of gold intertwined. "*Tortus et flexilis,*" is the definition given by Scheffer; and he is borne out by the specimens which have been found in this country, especially by that elegant and perfect torquis

[a] Prudentius.

discovered January 20, 1835, at Boyton, in Suffolk, and exhibited to the Society.[b] Of this kind were the ornaments worn by the young Ascanius and his companions—

Flexilis obtorto per collum it circulus auro.

VIRGIL, Æn. v. 557.

It seems that there were two orders of Torquati among the Romans, that of the *Torquis major* and that of the *Torquis minor*; but in what manner these distinctions were observed, does not appear. The torques usually given were under a pound in weight. None of them, it is supposed, exceeded this weight, and some were even as low as an *ounce*. Valerian gave Claudius when a tribune, a "*torquem libralem*." This is the heaviest ever given to a Roman citizen. But Livy mentions one of *two pounds*, which was presented by the Republic to the ambassadors from Gaul, who came with an offer of aid in the Macedonian war. This, in English weight would amount only to 21oz. 17dwts. 2grs., and would have ranked third in the Quentin collection, being only about half the weight of the manak, No. 6.

Pliny (33, c. 11) says, that the ancient Romans gave silver torques to their own citizens, and golden to their allies. But this has been doubted: I know not, however, upon what authority; for the more modern custom of the Romans would not disprove the fact as related of their ancestors. Certain it is that *silver torques* have been found,[c] though not so frequently as those of gold. The person in Roman history most distinguished in this manner, was Dentatus Siccius, of whom Valerius Maximus (lib. iii. c. 10.) says, "There were carried before him, in his triumph, 8 golden civic crowns, 3 mural, 1 obsidional, 183 torques, 140 armillæ, 18 hastæ, and 25 phaleræ."

The GAULS, we have observed, were celebrated in the early history of Rome as being decorated with torques. The episode of Manlius is in illustration of this remark; as Pliny has also observed: "Gallos cum auro pugnare solitos Torquatus indicio est."[d]

Among the other classical writers who mention this custom of the Gauls, the testimony of Diodorus[e] is precise: "*They wear round their necks solid ornaments of gold.*"

[b] Archæol. vol. xxvi. 471. [c] Ibid. vol. xiv. [d] Pliny, 33. 1. [e] De Gallis, lib. v.

According to Strabo,[f] even the PRIESTS of the Gauls and Germans wore golden collars upon their necks.

But the authority the most to our purpose is Polybius, who, in describing the Gallic army opposed to the Roman at the great battle of Telamon, says, "All of those who occupied the front ranks were adorned with golden *manaks* and bracelets." And he defines in another place the word μανιάκης, as if it were unknown to the Romans or Greeks:—"μανιάκης, *that is, a golden ring which the Gauls wear on their necks and wrists.*"

The selection of this word μανιάκης in preference to στρεπτὸς, shows that Polybius was not describing any ornament analogous to the Roman *Torquis*. He uses the word by which the decoration was known among the Gauls, having none in the Greek language which would accurately describe it.

Μανιάκης, or as it is sometimes written μανιάξ, is derived by Scheffer from μαννος, which he conceives to be the same as the Teutonic word "*Man*;" and so called, because it was the peculiar ornament of one who was κατ' ἐξοχὴν a MAN: "Quia *mannis*, i. e. viris usque, qui se fortitur gessissent in bello, proprium gestamen fuit." But the derivation already assigned from the Chaldee *manak*, which is the one approved by Bochart, is the more probable.

GOLDEN TORQUES were always among the "*barbara* spolia"[g] of the Romans. A very large one is mentioned by Livy[h] as having been taken by Marcellus from the Insubrian Gauls, and consecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus. He also speaks of the enormous number of 1471 taken from the Boii[i] by Cornelius Scipio, and carried to Rome. The Boii were a branch of the great Celtic family. I have already cited the testimony of Propertius respecting the *shape* of the Gallic collars, the "unca torquis" of Viridomarus, which he mentions, exactly corresponds with the ornaments found near Quentin. There can be little doubt therefore to what nation these beautiful decorations belonged. The locality in which they were found, (in the centre of a Celtic temple in Britany,) and the universal custom of the Gallic tribes, who adorned not only their warriors but also their priests with such collars and armlets, claim for the Armoricans the property of these torques. But the Gauls were not the only people who wore collars of this description. The Celtic tribes generally seem to have adopted them; and those who could not, like the

[f] Lib. vi. [g] Florus. i. 13. [h] 33. 36. [i] 36. 40.

Gauls, gain access to mines of gold, were contented with metals of a baser kind, and even with the substitute of bone or ivory. Thus, the Britons wore collars made from the teeth of the sea-horse, as also from iron, and sometimes bronze.[k] The Scandinavians used copper for the same purpose.[l] *Belts of gold*, of considerable diameters, have been found in Ireland, and golden torques in Britain, which, with the famous στρεπτὸς of Boadicea, mentioned by Dio Cassius, prove that, whenever the more precious metal was to be had, the baser were rejected. Nothing however, I believe, has been yet found in Britain or Ireland exactly corresponding with the ornaments of Quentin. They are unlike any torques which I have ever seen, and more like the Roman *fibulæ* than any other ornament of that people. But the *fibula* was a small and insignificant object compared with these *manaks*. Certain mysterious articles of gold[m] discovered in Ireland some years ago, and described in the second volume of the Archæologia, also resemble them in some degree; but, taking into consideration their number, weight, and beauty, they stand, or rather *stood*, almost alone in illustration of the μανιάκαι of the ancient Gauls. There may be some doubt whether they belonged to the priest or to the warrior. Their locality may favour the former, their condition the latter opinion. If worn by the priesthood they might have been concealed in the temple upon some sudden attack by the Romans, in full confidence that no Armorican would dare to violate the majesty of the Genius Loci. But they might also have belonged to some kindred tribe, and been taken from them in one of those domestic broils which seem to be characteristic of the Celtic family in all ages and countries: with whom *peace* is but a word to signify a *change of warfare*—for peace abroad is discord at home. That the ornaments in question had been taken in battle may be inferred from their condition when found. No. 5, from its closed state and small diameter, could not have been drawn over the hand of

[k] Herodian, iii. 14.

[l] Erasmus, Stella, lib. i.

[m] These articles are pronounced by Sir William Betham, in his ingenious paper lately read before the Royal Irish Academy, to have been a variety of *the Ring Money* of the Celts; but the larger specimens which have *wide basons* at the extremities of the cornua, may find their prototypes in the *double* drinking cups of the Scythians, mentioned by Herodotus, 4, 66. Ὅσοι δὲ ἀν αὐτῶν καὶ κάρτα πρλλοὺς ἄνδρας ἀναιρηκότες ἔωσι σύνδυο κύλικας ἔχοντες, πίνουσι ὁμοῦ. This interpretation of σύνδυο may be novel, but it is defensible. The affinity between the customs of the Scythian and Celtic Tribes is well known.

the wearer. The hand was either cut off to obtain it, or the bracelet dropped off from the arm of a skeleton buried upon the spot. No traces of such burials were however found within the *Temène*. The former supposition is therefore the more probable. Nos. 11 and 12, however, bore marks of blows with some sharp or heavy weapon, for both of them were injured; one of them being mutilated, and the other so battered as to be shapeless. Upon the whole therefore I should infer that they were spoils of war rather than ornaments of the priests. Their concealment in the temple will not affect the validity of this conclusion; for it was customary with the Gauls to deposit their spoils in their sanctuaries, as we read in Cæsar, lib. vi. "In many of their cities," says that writer, "one may see great heaps of such booty laid up in their places of worship;[n] and it seldom happens that any one is so impious as to conceal the booty he has made, or to take it away when once deposited; that crime being punished with the utmost severity."

The rich tracery upon these ornaments would indicate a great advance in the arts at the time of their execution; in symmetry and elegance they could hardly indeed be excelled in the present times. One of the decorations struck me as particularly remarkable; it was of the angular pattern, similar to that so common on British pottery and ecclesiastical buildings of the earliest period of our domestic architecture. The presence of this linear tracery on the manaks identifies them as belonging to the same family of nations who fabricated the vases found in the Celtic barrows of Britain; while the *zigzag moulding* of our *Saxon* arches points to the same source for their origin. For I can hardly conceive that a people so rude as the Saxons could ever have originated any elegance of ornament in architecture; while the known high state of culture in which the Britons were at the time of the Gothic invasion, would naturally point out the latter people as the instructors of the former in all the arts. The *Saxon* arch may therefore be defined as *Romano-British; Roman* in *shape, British* in *ornament.*

The manaks of Quentin are, as far as I can find, *unique.*[o] Nothing like

[n] Locis consecratis.

[o] I understand from Sir William Betham that similar ornaments have been found in Ireland; but I have not had the opportunity of seeing them. I only speak of the Quentin manaks as *unique*, to the extent of my own knowledge. I should be very happy to be mistaken; for the specimens in question have perished.

them has come to my knowledge either in England or France. Their *probable* use has been suggested in the foregoing remarks; their *propriety*, whether druidical or military, may not be quite so evident. Over this, as over every thing connected with the history of the Druids hangs the deep veil of mystery; and ages may yet pass before it will be removed. In the meantime conjecture must supply the want of evidence, and we must not reject a reasonable approximation to the truth because we cannot arrive at a certainty. But even for this shadow of the substance we must have recourse to other shores! In our own country we can hope for little addition to the knowledge which we already possess on these subjects. The industry of the Antiquary, and the learning of the Scholar have done much to atone for the barbarism of the destroyer, and perhaps can do no more. We must look therefore to other and kindred soils, less barbarous or less civilized (the phrases are too often synonymous) for further information. Such a country is Britany: to the virtuous ignorance of whose uncivilised peasantry we may now confess our obligations for the means of knowledge which remain; and we cannot but commend the superstition, if such it was, which spared, and still spares, so many memorials of a lost religion and perished people. For if the history of the Celts be ever rescued from the graves of the Druids, it will owe its preservation to that happy contentment which grudged not the barren acre to the mouldering temple, nor the grassy mound to its sleeping minister, but hallowed alike the fane of an extinct religion and the graves of a forgotten people.

I am, my dear Sir,

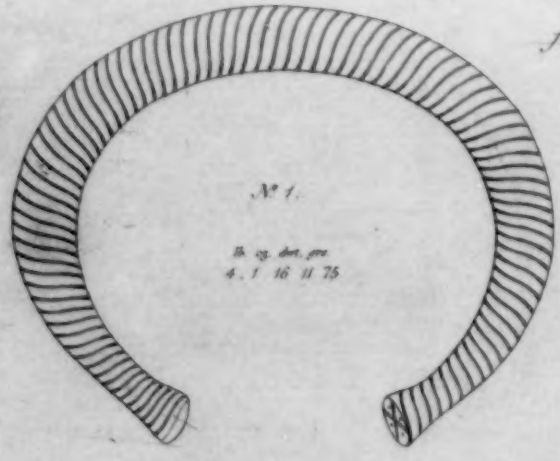
Yours truly,

JOHN BATHURST DEANE.

Sir Henry Ellis, F.R.S.
Secretary.

ORNAMENTS OF GOLD.

found near Quentin in Britany. 1832.

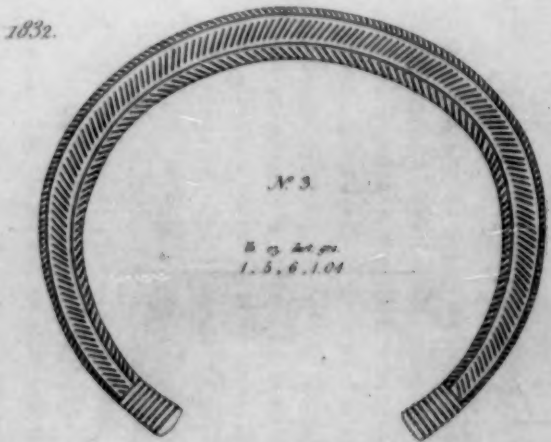


N° 1.

lb. oz. dwt. grs.
4. 1 16 11 75

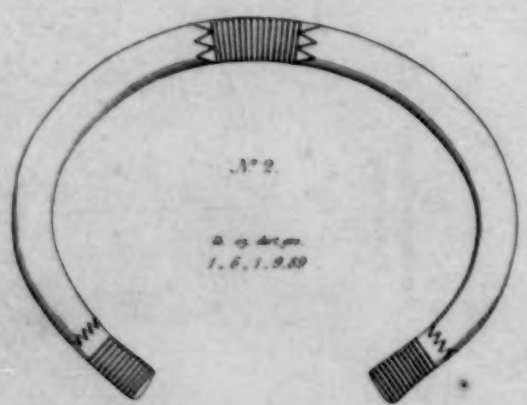
N° 5.

lb. oz. dwt. grs.
1. 3. 3. 12 85



N° 3.

lb. oz. dwt. grs.
1. 5. 6. 1 04



N° 2.

lb. oz. dwt. grs.
1. 6. 1. 9 89

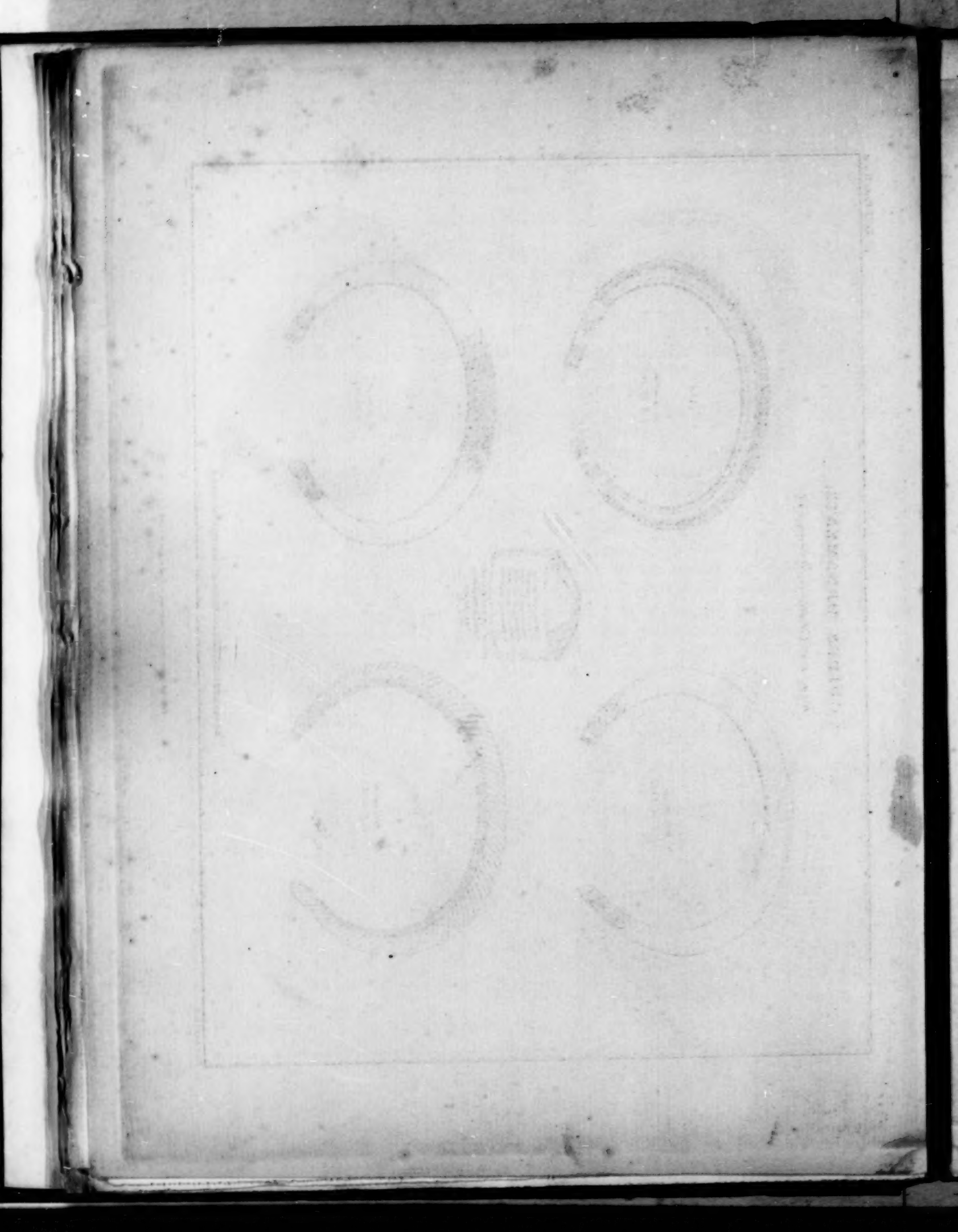
N° 6.

lb. oz. dwt. grs.
3. 8. 9. 10 72

N° 4.

lb. oz. dwt. grs.
1. 4 15. 18 47

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 1st 1833.



GOLDEN ORNAMENTS,

found near Quentin in Britany 1832.

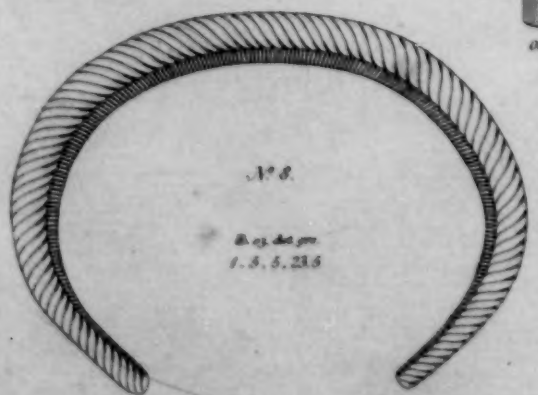
N° 7.

lb. oz. dwt. grs.
1. 5. 14. 23.57

N° 9.

lb. oz. dwt. grs.
1. 5. 14. 23.57

One of a pair of Bracelets found near Carnac.
2. 8. 8.



N° 8.

lb. oz. dwt. grs.
1. 5. 5. 23.5

N° 10.

lb. oz. dwt. grs.
1. 4. 15. 18.47

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 12th 1834

II. *On the Number of the Lost Books of Tacitus.*

By the Lord Mahon.

Read 24th March, 1836.

THE historical works of Tacitus which remain to us are, as is well known, besides the Life of Agricola, the four first books of the Annals, part of the fifth, the sixth, the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and part of the sixteenth, the four first books of the History, and part of the fifth. It is asserted by Brotier, in his excellent edition, that the total number of books must have been sixteen of Annals and fourteen of History, and this assertion has never yet, so far as I know, been doubted or called in question. I think, however, that there are strong grounds for presuming that the real number of books was eighteen of Annals and twelve of History; and, though the point be of small importance, it may perhaps not be without some interest to the admirers of the greatest of Historians.

We learn from Tacitus himself that, having first written his History from the last months of Galba to the end of Domitian, he afterwards composed his Annals from the death of Augustus to the period first mentioned.[a] As to the number of books, the only passage to inform us is one from St. Jerome, where he mentions Tacitus as one *qui post Augustum, usque ad mortem Domitiani, vitas Cæsarum triginta voluminibus exaravit.*[b] No mention is made how many of these books were books of Annals or books of History.

Now, if we look to the progress of events, and to the number of important transactions that took place between the point where the sixteenth book of Annals breaks off and the point where the first book of History commences,

[a] Tacit. Hist. lib. i. c. 1. Annal. lib. i c 2, &c. [b] St. Hieron. Comment. in cap. xiv. Zach.

it will appear utterly incredible that, according to the supposition of Brotier, they should all have been comprised in the remainder of the sixteenth book. This period is one of four years, containing the extremely curious and now very imperfectly known proceedings of the insurrection in Spain and Gaul, the overthrow of Nero and the end of the family of the Cæsars; how Vindex fell in the moment of the triumph of his cause; how Nymphidius hoped to profit by the vacancy, and how his projects were arrested; how Galba advanced to Rome, and by what acts he lost the popularity to which he owed his elevation. Over quiet and less interesting periods Tacitus glides quickly, but when it is observed how much attention he bestows on times of revolution, when the whole state seems heaving and convulsed, it is impossible to doubt that he very fully pourtrayed those events of which in other writers we see only a dim and imperfect outline. The five first books of his History, being devoted to such a period, fill a space of less than two years; and thus also I conceive, the four years preceding, being scarcely less important and eventful, were related in the remainder of the sixteenth, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth books of his Annals.

In confirmation of this view, it may be observed, that the books of the Annals preserved to us are not of very unequal length. The number of chapters, though a modern and uncertain division, may afford us a rude approximation to this fact. The first book has 81 chapters, the second 88, the third 76, the fourth 75, and the sixth, of which some suppose the commencement to have perished, 51. Thus the average for each is 74. In the able Supplement of Brotier the want of sufficient materials renders of course his books much shorter, even although he has introduced some subjects, such as our Saviour's Nativity and the Legation of Philo, which in all probability were not in the original Tacitus. The number of chapters in his seventh book is only 43, in his eighth 79, in his ninth 59, and in his tenth 35; the average being 56. Now, in his Supplement to the sixteenth book, he treats of a period of which we have even less full details than that treated of in his Supplement between the sixth and eleventh books: yet in this his Supplement extends to 97 chapters! Can we believe then that Tacitus, with all his ample materials, and so wide a scope for his philosophic reflections, could have comprised this period in a single book, and extended this book to a still more disproportioned

length? And is not my conjecture much more probable, that this period formed the theme of two books more?

What, I think, tends further to confirm this conjecture, is the remarkable fondness among nearly all ancient nations for the number twelve, or some multiple or dividend of twelve. This is apparent among the Romans in their books of Epic poetry, their Tables of Laws, their Augurs, and a vast variety of other instances. Du Cange has shown that the same partiality existed amongst the early Scandinavians.[c] Spelman has traced it amongst the Boiians and Burgundians,[d] and Mr. Hallam and several other writers amongst the Anglo-Saxons.[e] I need not investigate the causes of this custom or fancy. But as it undoubtedly existed and influenced many other Latin authors in their divisions of writing, I think it more probable that Tacitus should have written his Annals in eighteen books, and his History in twelve, than have divided the former into sixteen and the latter into fourteen.

I cannot conclude without a most earnest wish that some of the discoveries of the Italian Palimpsests may ere long restore to us these lost books of Tacitus, not with any view to the trifling point which I have been discussing, but to instruct and delight mankind by a work which even now, though incomplete, appears one of the noblest monuments ever raised by human genius.

[c] Du Cange, Diction. voc. Nembda.

[d] Spelman's Gloss. voc. Jurata.

[e] Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. ii. p. 401.

III. *Letter from Sir* Francis Palgrave, *K.H., F.R.S., to* Hudson Gurney, *Esq. V.P. upon Three Documents of the Reign of Edward I. preserved among the Exchequer Records at Westminster, relating to Scottish Prisoners.*

Read 14th April, 1836.

My dear Sir,

AMONGST the documents relating to Scotland of the reign of Edward I. Rymer has printed one (new edition, vol. i. p. 994) to which he gives the following title: "Instrumentum continens nomina plurimorum nobilium Scotiæ fautorum Roberti de Brus qui missi sunt ad diversa castra in Angliam," including, amongst the mandates for the custody of other prisoners, the well-known order directing the confinement of the Countess of Buchan in a cage at Berwick, and which instrument is quoted by Rymer as being in this repository. I do not, however, find amongst the muniments any *one* such instrument; but, instead thereof, there are *three* distinct documents, apparently Orders made by the King in Council, and in which, the several directions for the modes of disposing of these captives were from time to time varied and altered, and in a manner highly deserving of attention. The document given by Rymer, is in fact an instrument framed by him by a consolidation of these orders, not distinguishing where one begins and another ends; and in this process, he has concealed the most remarkable features, namely, the modifications which the orders sustained in their different stages. The documents are all intended for publication by his Majesty's Commissioners on the Public Records, in the volume which is to contain the inedited Scottish documents; but, in the mean while, I trust that a summary of some of the particulars which they disclose, will not be unacceptable to this Society.

"Alain, who was Earl of Menteith," was first committed to the custody of Sir Johan de Hastings, who was to put him in safe keeping in England. This

direction was subsequently varied, by giving Sir John the power to confine the " late Earl " at Bergaveny or elsewhere.

The Earl of Strathern, " when he shall have surrendered to the King," is to be placed in custody in the Keep of Rochester Castle; but he does not appear to have surrendered.

The name of John Earl of Athol was first entered upon the order as a memorandum, without any directions; the course to be adopted with respect to him was probably not settled. Some time afterwards, as appears by the variations both in the colour of the ink and the character of the handwriting, he was conducted to London by Sir Hugh le Despenser. With respect to David, " the son and heir of him who *was* Earl of Athol," the order first made did not sustain any further variations; he was to be kept in safe custody in England by the Earl of Gloucester.

The orders respecting " Donald the *son* of the Earl of Mar," sustained several modifications before the plan of his captivity was finally settled. By the first order, he was to be delivered to the Bishop of Chester, and by him conveyed to the Castle of Bristol, and the Bishop was to provide a valet, wary and trusty, " avisez et seur," who was to wait upon Donald as his master and companion, " que entende au dit Dovenald come a son maistre et compagnion.' By a second order, the Bishop of Chester is exonerated from his trust, and Donald, who on this second order is styled " the child who is *heir* of Mar," is placed under the immediate custody and charge of the Constable of the Castle of Bristol, with liberty to go freely about the castle. A further extension of liberty is then granted by a third order, permitting the young prisoner to walk on the garden and elsewhere within the close of the castle, and that he shall not be put in irons, an alteration which evidently implies that, under the first or original order he would, as a matter of course, have been thus restrained; but upon further consideration it appeared advisable, to prevent this extraordinary indulgence of personal freedom from being abused, or becoming a precedent: and to the words, " mais qil soit hors de fers," they added, at a subsequent period, as appears by the variation in the colour of the ink, " tant *come il soit de si tendre age*," so long as he shall be of such tender age; virtually directing that the permission, by which he was relieved from gyves and fetters,

was not to be continued if he should be detained in custody after he came to man's estate.

With respect to Margaret, the daughter of Robert Bruce, the first order directed her to be treated with great severity. She was to be sent to the Tower of London, and there kept in close confinement in a cage; "*Margerie la fille Robert de Brus soit envee a la Tour de Londres pour estre mise ilueques en kage, et que ele ne parle a nul homme ne nul homme a luy, fors ceux que le Conestable de la Tour assignera pour luy garder.*" But this extreme rigour excited some compunction, and, the order being cancelled, another order was made that she should be kept in England, under the safe custody of Sir Henry Percy.

It is in some respects satisfactory to observe that all the alterations which the orders sustained, are in diminution of the rigour attending the incarceration of these illustrious captives.

Whilst I am on the subject of Rymer, it may not be unimportant to notice a singular error in his transcript of the document dated 9 July, 1297, by which Robert Bruce the Stewart of Scotland, and his brother Sir Alexander Lindsey, and Sir William Douglas, submitted to Edward, and promised to make amends for their resistance to his authority. As printed by Rymer (Fœdera, new edit. vol. i. p. 808), it ends with this clause, "escrit a Sire Williame," and from which Lord Hailes and others have drawn the very plausible inference that the instrument was transmitted to Sir William Wallace for the purpose of enabling him to avail himself of the same terms. But, as in other cases, the carelessness or ignorance of a transcriber has furnished the foundation for an historical theory. The reading of the original is "escrit a Irewin," *i. e.* at Irwin; but a blur before the *I* having been mistaken for an *S*, and the parallel strokes of the *i* and the *n*, in the concluding syllable, having been mistaken for an *m*, Rymer, or his transcriber, read the word as *Sire Wm*, which *Wm* having been extended by Rymer into the word William, produced the reading of the printed Fœdera, and the opinions of the historians who have followed a text which they were fully justified in considering as correct and authentic.

I remain, dear Sir, yours ever faithfully,

FRANCIS PALGRAVE.

Hudson Gurney, Esq. V.P.
&c. &c. &c.

IV. *Letter from* THOMAS STAPLETON, *Esq. F.S.A. to* JOHN GAGE, *Esq. F.R.S. Director, accompanying two transcripts of ancient Charters relating to property in Normandy.*

Read 12th May, 1836.

MY DEAR SIR, London, May 10, 1836.

AMONGST the transcripts of charters which I possess relating to Normandy, I have thought two of sufficient interest, as illustrative of judicial proceedings and feudal obligations at the time of the invasion of England, when the national usages of the conquerors were partially blended with the institutions of our Saxon population, to venture to offer them through you to the notice of the Society. The first is from the muniments of the celebrated abbey of Jumièges, now deposited in the archives of the Département de la Seine Inférieure, and my transcript is taken from a copy upon paper in the possession of Mons. Deville of Rouen, to whose kindness I was indebted for the loan of it.[a] It contains the narrative of a monk of Jumièges (Rainald the chaplain) detailing the circumstances under which he became possessed of certain property in Bayeux, in replication to a claim set up by Samson the clerk, apparently the same person with Samson de Douvres, afterwards treasurer of Bayeux, consecrated to the see of Worcester in 1097. Its purport is as follows:

In the days of Richard Duke of the Normans, and of Robert his son, and of William son of Robert, there was one Ernaldus, their chaplain, dwelling at Bayeux, possessed of considerable property in lands and houses within and without the city, which he had acquired by purchase. In the time of Duke William, he being dead, Stephen, the nephew of Ernaldus, succeeded to his uncle's property by right of inheritance, and by the grant of the Duke; which

[a] The following note is appended to this copy: "La caractere de cette notice est environ de six siecles, sur le dos de laquelle est escrit *de Baiocis*; elle est tirée de la layette de St. Pierre du Manoir." The last was the name of the principal fief belonging to the abbey in the Bessin.

Stephen had issue an infant son by a certain widow named Ovinga, sister of Normannus Ambarius at Bayeux. This child died, but the mother artfully concealed its death from Stephen; and, for an annuity of ten shillings, bought a child of a certain woman dwelling at Martragny, called Ulberga, whom Stephen believing to be his own offspring, made heir to his allodial property. After the death of Stephen and the wife of Stephen, payment of the annuity was discontinued; whereupon the woman of Martragny re-claimed her child, but could not obtain restitution, by reason of the opposition on the part of the relations of Stephen's wife. She in consequence carried her plaint before Duke William, now become King, and Matilda his wife, who were then at Bonneville-sur-Touques. The King put her upon trial of her cause before the Court, and the sentence of the King, of John the Archbishop of Rouen, of Roger de Beaumont, and the other Barons, was, that the plaintiff should have back her child, if, in the ordeal of hot iron, God preserved her unhurt. To witness the performance of this award, King William and his wife Matilda sent Rainald their chaplain to Bayeux, and together with him there were present by order of the King, William the Archdeacon, at the time of writing Abbot of Fécamp,[b] Jocelyn the Archdeacon, Robert de L'Isle with his wife Albereda, Ewermarus of Bayeux, and many others of the chief men of the city. The ordeal was gone through in the little church of St. Vigor, and the plaintiff, by the judgment of God, came forth unhurt, in the presence of Rainald and the others above named. Upon the result being made known to the King by those present, he took possession of the property of Stephen, and granted it to the Queen, who, by consent of the King, gave the allodial estate to Rainald the chaplain; for the other property of Stephen, which belonged to the church of St. John, which was a royal chapel, the King had already granted to Thomas, his clerk, then not as yet Archbishop.[c] In the course of time, Rainald, being desirous of embracing the rule of St. Benedict, repaired to the abbey of Jumièges, and, upon his admission, assigned over all the interest he then had in the property to his brethren of the monastery; for he had previously given to a clerk named Gunfred a garden, portion of the said allodial property,

[b] William de Ros (*Rots near Bayeux*) Archdeacon, Dean, and Precentor of Bayeux, was abbot of Fecamp in 1080.

[c] Thomas de Douvres, brother of Samson, was consecrated Archbishop of York in 1072.

with the condition of service only annexed; another was leased to Euremarus for a rent of eleven shillings, who was also bound to render suit of court when necessary, and as often as Rainald visited Bayeux throughout the year, to find him in wine, beer, and a loaf of bread of the customary size, the first night of his stay, and provender for the horses; to which agreement the Queen, the suzeraine of the fief, was a witness; and further, if Rainald stood in need of it, Euremarus was to give him credit in the city to the amount of one hundred shillings; a third garden Vitalis the clerk held, for which he owed service. Each of these under-tenants was restricted from selling to any others but the Abbot and monks of Jumièges, and from making any grants without their licence. Rainald then invokes the testimony of the clerk Vitalis, in proof of the property being exempt from the usual customs of the Norman Dukes, viz. toll, geld, multure, and watch and ward, and if the owner of the said property should cause his wine to be brought from Argences, from the carriage dues at Caen and at Bayeux, and calls down excommunication upon his head if he denies the truth. The narrator concludes by expostulating with Samson on his inconsistency in *then* advancing his claims, whereas he made no claim when he sold him one of the houses within the city and the land belonging to it for sixty pounds, of which fifty had been paid, and the other ten were still owing in guerdon (*in weredono*) and the men still his servants who had received the money; moreover, this was done in presence of the Queen, and at a time when Samson was in favour with King William and Queen Matilda, and who, if he had any right in the matter, would have done him justice; the payment of the money was a proof of his not knowing of any right he then had in the houses or the land.

The second Charter is transcribed from the ancient cartulary of the abbey of Mont St. Michel, now in the public library of Avranches, and narrates the terms of an agreement made at Bayeux before the Queen, between the Abbot of Mont St. Michel and William Paynell, relative to the tenure of the great fief of Bricqueville sur-Mer, in the Département de la Manche, which had been given by William the Conqueror to the latter in marriage with his wife, and of which the Abbot was suzerain, as being within the limits of the honour of St. Pair. The following were the feudal obligations of the mesne lord and the vavassors who held of the fief—

1. In time of war, if the land should be endangered, Hugh de Bricqueville owed castle-guard for forty days with seven horsemen, himself making the seventh, their board to be at the cost of the mesne lord; the nephew of Hugh was liable to the same service, if he held his land in *parage* (that is, where land was held directly of the head, when a fief had been dismembered for the advancement of the junior branches of a family), according to the quantity.

2. Hugh de Briqueville was bound to obey the summons of the mesne lord, if free from that of the Abbot, the suzerain, himself or his son with two knights having entertainment at the family board of the lord; and if he be always under summons from the Abbot, then the lord not to have this service.

3. If the mesne lord shall have a fine to impose, or a plea to hold, he shall have the suit of the men of the land he holds of St. Michael, so that they be able to return to their own homes in the evening.

4. If the men of the fief shall be in default in respect of the services thus awarded, they shall be bound to make the lord amends at some one of the capital mansions he holds of St. Michael.

5. The mesne lord to have aid from the land held of St. Michael for the ransom of his person, or for the fine for the recovery of his land, should he commit an act of forfeiture in regard either of the King or the Abbot: for the ransom of his son by the wife of whose inheritance the land is, if taken in the service of the King or the Abbot; or for any single daughter's marriage, whom he may have by that wife.

6. The mesne lord to appoint some one to whom the Abbot should send to serve the necessary summonses on the land of St. Michael, and if, after due service, the person summoned remain away, the Abbot shall receive the forfeiture due; but if there be non-service on the part of him who shall be thus appointed to make the summons, he shall pay a fine of eighteen shillings to the Abbot, and the Abbot shall afterwards send his summons by his own deputy.

7. The mesne lord to have at his choice *(ad suum cois*[d]*)* twelve oaks each year in the forest of Longueville, as bounded by the river Ars, and no more, except by licence of the Abbot.

[d] Cois, choix. Roquefort, Glossaire de la Langue Romane.

8. William Paynell to have of the Abbot each year a dole of wax, or twenty shillings, at the option of the Abbot, in lieu of the reliefs due from the vill of Chanteloup, and for the pasturage of La Lande, if the men of Chanteloup can deraign (*deraisneer*) it as theirs in the court of Paynell.

9. The claim to La Vidande, which Paynell asserts to be appurtenant to his demesne, to be respited till the cause can be pleaded before the King when he comes to Mont St. Michel.

10. In respect of the seven PARES holding of the honour of Bricqueville, Paynell shall summon them to do suit in his court; and if of their own accord they are willing to go and render such suit, they shall be free to go, if exempt from the service of the Abbot; but if they refuse, then Paynell to make proof in the court of the Abbot, by the men of the honour who saw them render this service, that it was customary and in force as against their ancestors. The Barons of the Queen's court, witnesses of this convention, were Michael Bishop of Avranches, elected in 1068, Robert Bishop of Seez, elected in 1070, Roger de Montgomery, Richard the Viscount *(proconsul)*, Roger de Beaumont, Hubert de Rie, Humphrey de Bohun, Hubert de Port, Turgis de Tracy, Alvered Malbanc, and Geoffry de Sai.

The use of French law-terms in this early charter is peculiar, and the circumstance of the PARES of the honour, and the knights who were to serve, being limited to the number of seven, a number to which your attention has recently been drawn by the communication of Sir Francis Palgrave respecting the Seven Peers of Scotland, is not, perhaps, undeserving of remark. Trusting that I have not made a wrong estimate of the importance of the documents which I now submit to your perusal, believe me,

My dear Sir,

very sincerely yours,

THOMAS STAPLETON, jun.

JOHN GAGE, Esq. F.R.S.
Director S. A.

I.

Temporibus Ricardi comitis Normannie & Rotberti ejus filii & Willmi filii ꝑdc̃i Rotberti fuit quidam eorum capellanus Baiocis Ernaldus noïe potens in prediis et domibus infra civitatem & extra civitatem que emerat suo auro atque suo argento. Quo mortuo tempore Willmi Normannorum ducis Stephanus nepos predicti Ernaldi jure hereditario successit in hereditatem sui avunculi dono Willmi Normannoꝝ ducis. Qui Stephanus habuit parvulum ex quadam muliere vidua nomine Ovinga et sorore Normanni Ambarii apud Baiocas. Quo parvulo mortuo nesciente Stephano femina illa ingeniosa dando pretium x^{cim} solidorum per annum emit parvulum a quadam que habitabat in villa que dicitur Merdiniacus et illa femina vocabatur Ulberga. Quem Stephanus credens suum, jure hereditario, heredem hereditavit illum de suis alodiis, id est, de domibus quas habebat ad Portam Arboream infra civitatem et de xii^{cim} acris terræ quas habebat ad Aureum fontem extra civitatem et de pluribus ortis censum illi reddentibus. Deinde mortua femina Stephani prius et postea ipso mortuo, supradicta femina de Merdiniaco, non habens pretium sui parvuli quod solita erat habere, reclamavit suum infantem et non potuit habere pro parentibus femine Stephani; cujus femine clamore perveniente ad Willelmum ducem jam factum Regem et ad Matildem uxorem ejus in villa que dicitur Bonavilla, fecit rex inde teneri placitum qua probatione mulier illa rehaberet suum puerum et dijudicavit rex Willelmus et Joh̃es archiepiscopus et Rogerius Belmontensis et alii complures quod femina illa que puerum reclamabat per judicium ferri calidi rehaberet suum filium, si Deus eam servaret illæsam. Ad quod judicium videndum misit me Rainaldum suum clericum Rex Willelmus et Mathildis uxor ejus Baiocas; et precepto Regis ibi affuerunt mecum Willm^{9} archidiaconus, qui nunc est abbas Fiscannensis et Godselinus archidiaconus et Rotbertus Insule cum Albereda uxore sua et Ewermarus de Baiocis et alii complures ex melioribus hoïbꝫ civitatis; quo judicio portato in monasteriolo sc̃i Vigoris fuit mulier illa que puerum reclamabat Dei judicio illæsa, me vidente et prenominatis hoïbꝫ. Quod rex per me audiens et prefatos viros accepit in suum dominium possessionem Stephani et dedit eam Regine et Regina dedit michi concessu Regis domos & duodecim acras terre quas jam predixi et ortos et oïa que habuerat Stephanus de suo alodio. Nam alias res ejusdem Stephani que pertinebant ad eccl̃iam sc̃i Johannis que erat capella Regis dederat jam Rex Thome suo clerico nondum archiepiscopo. Deinde ego Rainaldus Dei bonitate veniens ad ordinem sc̃i Benedicti Gemeticum petii et quod Baiocis tenueram de Rege Willelmo et Mathilde Regina eorum concessu et sigillo eidem loco concessi et quamdiu in clericali habitu fui quiete hæc oïa & absque ullius calumpnia tenui, et si loco sc̃i Petri Gemmetico rectum conceditur quiete oïa que predixi et dedi habebit, quia quiete ea tenueram et in clericali habitu ut predixi. Gunfredo clerico, cognomento Masculo, unum ortum dedi de prefato alodio, ut inde serviret michi et alium

Euremaro xi^{cim} solidos reddentem per annum. Pro quo idem Euremarus interesset meis placitis si necesse fuisset et quotiens venirem Baiocas per annum preberet michi de suo prima nocte vinum & cervisam et panem factitium per consuetudinem et victum equorum. Et hoc testimonio Regine Domine mee et si opus haberem, acrederet michi usque ad centum solidos in civitatem. Et tertium ortum dedi Vitali clerico ut inde michi serviret. Et nemo istorum potest vendere ortos istos nisi Abbati & monachis neque dare alicui sine licentia ipsorum. Hæc oĩa que prescripsi bene novit ita esse Vitalis clericus qui in oĩbȝ mecum interfuit, et si alicujus timore vel amore veritatem hujus rei negaverit excommunicet illum Deus Oĩpotens et ego in quantum possum. Et ille bene scit domos infra civitatem et terram extra civitatem positam semper fuisse quietas ab omni consuetudine Normannorum principis, scilicet theloneo, gildo, molta molendinorum et custodia vigiliarum, et Dñus predicte terre si faceret adducere vinum suum de Argencis esset quietum suum carragium apud Cadomum & apud Baiocas. Et ut audivi Samson clericus clamat in predictis rebus, sed tunc non clamavit quando ei vendidi unam de domibus infra civitatem cum terra ipsius domus sexaginta libris, de quibus habui quinquaginta libras & adhuc debet michi x^{cem} libras in weredono et adhuc habeo homines qui eosdem denarios receperunt. Et hoc fuit factum testimonio Regine et tunc tempus bene erat Samson cum Rege Willelmo & Mathilde regina, qui illi facerent rectum de suis clamoribus si aliquid juste clamaret, et si in illa terra aut in illis domibus se aliquid recti habere sciret, nullo modo michi tunc denarios prefatos dedisset.

II.

Conventio inter Abbatem et Guiſſmum Paginellum.

Haec carta narrat conventionem Baiocis factam coram Regina inter abbatem de Monte sc̃i Michaelis et Guiſſmum Paginellum. Si Wiſſmus Paginellus habet guerram de illa terra quam Rex Anglorum dedit sibi cum femina sua, conventio est quin Hugo de Bricavilla quadraginta diebus illi faciet de guarda vel custodia sese septimum de caballaribus ad suum cibum. Et nepos illius Hugonis similiter faciet si in parage terram suam tenuerit scd̃m hoc quod tenebit. Rursus si Guiſſmus Paginellus illum Hugonem submonuerit cum duobus equitibus eum in sua familia ad suum cibum habuerit vel filium suum, si liber erit de submonitione abbatis. Nec si eum domnus abbas semp̃ habebit, quin Guiſſmus Paginellus hoc habeat. Et ita equidem habebit in sua familia nepotem Hugonis et Robertum de Cantelupo et Guiſſmum Becketh et illum qui honorem Scollant habebit. Et si vindictam vel placitum habuerit ad faciendum, homines quos tenet de sc̃o Michaele ita habebit quod in sero erunt ad suas domos. Et si homines sibi deficient de his serviciis quæ hic sunt divisa, rectum sibi facient ad unam mansionum quas tenet de sc̃o Michaele. Auxilium accipiet de terra quam tenet de sc̃o Michaele p̃ sui corporis captione aut p̃ sua terra si foris fecerit eam erga Regem vel abbatem, vel p̃ filio

hujus femine de qua est hereditas si captus fuerit in servitio Regis vel abbatis de quo est fedus, aut p una sola filia maritanda quam habet de hac femina. Conventio est quin Guillmus Paginellus in terra quam tenet de abbate statuet unum hominem apud quem abbas mittet pro submonitionibus quas habet facere ipse abbas in terra quam Guillmus Paginellus tenet de illo. Qui si bene submonitiones fecerit, et ille remaneat quem monuerit abbas suam forisfacturam inde accipiet. Quod si in illo submonitore remanet submonitio, abbati decem et octo solidos emendabit et abbas postea per suum legatum submonitionem suam fecerit. Conventio est quin Guillmus Paginellus uno quoque anno duodecim quercus ad suum cois accipiet in silva de Longavilla usque ad aquam que dicitur Ars nec plus habet accipere nisi per abbatem fecerit. Conventio est quin abbas de Monte unoquoque anno dat illi unum provendarium de cera vel viginti solidos et est in cois abbatis dare quale horum maluerit, et hoc p relevationibus de Cantelupo et pro pastura de la Lande, si homines de Cantelupo possunt illam deraisneer in curia Guillmi Paginelli. De La Vidande quam Willmus Paginellus interrogat in fedo, dum venit in monte sĉi Michaelis, est in respectu donec coram rege. Conventio est de septem paribus de honore quem Willmus Paginellus tenet de Abbate de Monte Sĉi Michaelis quin submonuerit illos in sua curia. Qui si sponte sua ambulare voluerint, ibunt, si liberi erunt de servicio Abbatis. Si vero ire noluerint, hoc debet Guillmus Paganellus deraisneer in curia Abbatis per homines qui sunt de honore quam accepit cum sua uxore, qui illos viderunt in suo servicio per consuetudinem antecessorum suorum. Hujus cause testes existunt, Presul Abrincensis Michael. Eps Sagiensis Robtᵘˢ. Rogerius de Montegomerii. Richardus pconsul. Rogerius de Bellomonte. Hubtus de Ria. Unfredus de Bohon. Hubtus de Portu. Turgisus de Tracei. Alveredus Malbedenc. Gaufredus de Sai.

V. *Observations on Female Head-dress in England, chiefly subsequent to the date of Mr. Strutt's Remarks in his "Habits of the People of England:" by* John Adey Repton, *Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter to* Nicholas Carlisle, *Esq. K.H. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read May 7, June 19, Dec. 3, 1835, Jan. 14, 1836.

As Mr. Strutt, in his "Habits of the People of England," has already given us a very full account of the female head-dress from the earliest periods, accompanied by many curious and interesting engravings, I shall confine my observations on the subject to those of a subsequent date.

The heads represented in the drawings (Plates III. to X.) are taken from old tapestries, brass-plates, early prints, &c. Many are well-known to the Society. They are only to be considered as slight sketches to give a general idea of the form and character of the dresses; but of those which are copied from well-known portraits, the faces are omitted, as it would have been difficult to procure correct likenesses.

In examining a collection of old paintings or prints, great caution is required to ascertain whether they be genuine: we have several portraits of Anne Boleyn, without any similarity in the likenesses.

Many portraits are imaginary, as in some of Houbraken's heads; and many unknown portraits have names given to them to which they are not entitled.

That some of the portraits, by the most celebrated painters, may be considered correct likenesses as early as the reign of Henry VIII. may be proved in one instance. Some years since, I was much struck with a portrait of a lady at Woburn, and felt assured I had seen it somewhere; but could not recollect where. On examining the name, I found it to be Jane Seymour. It imme-

diately occurred to me to be the same as that in the picture of King Henry VIII. and his family, which formerly stood in the room of the Society of Antiquaries; but this does not accord with the date, as Edward VI. is represented as a young man in the picture. If a conjecture be allowed, the Queen was painted for Catharine Parr, and the young King had the face taken out, and his own mother inserted.

Mr. Strutt tells us, that the "horned head-dress" which prevailed during the 14th and 15th centuries, was highly reprobated by John de Meun, who also condemns the excessive width of their head-dresses, and speaks of the quantity of fine linen which was used to decorate them with much disapprobation. A holy bishop also preached against the high horns of the ladies of the day, by comparing them to horned snails, to harts, and to unicorns; but in spite of all the remonstrances from the pulpit, that fashion maintained its ground nearly two centuries.

Paradin, in his "Memoire de L'Histoire de Lyon," (1573), gives a curious account of the female head-dress which prevailed in 1461. As that work is not often to be found in this country, the following quotation may be worthy of notice:

"La mutation & variété d'habits a tousiours esté naturelle aux François, plus qu'autre nation; en quoy ils reçoivent plus de reputation d'inconstance, que de profit. Car in ceste année mille quatre cens soixante un, les dames de Lyon qui auparavant portoyent des longues queues en leurs robbes, changèrent, & mirent aux bors de robbes de grands & larges pans, les unes des gris de laitices, les autres de martres, les autres des autres semblables choses, chacun selon son estat, & possible passoyent aucunes plus outre; & en leurs testes chargèrent certains bourrelets pointus cõme clochiers, la plus part de la hauteur de demie aulne, or trois quartiers: & estoyent nommez par aucuns les grand papillons, parcequ'il y avoit deux larges aisles deçà & delà, comme sont aisles de papillons (see Plates III. IV.); & estoit ce haut bonnet couvert d'un grand crespe trainant jusques en terre, le quel la pluspart troussoyent autour de leurs bras. Il y en avoit d'autres, que portoyant en accoustrument de teste, qui estoit parti de drap de laine, partie de drap de soye meslé, & avoit deux cornes, comme deux donjons, & estoit ceste coiffure decoupée & chiquettée, comme un chapperon d'Allemant (Plates III. IV.), ou crespée comme un ven-

tre de veau ; & celles portoyent des robbes ayans des manches tres étroites depuis les espaules jusques vers les mains, quelles s'élargissoyent & decouppées à undes. Les dames mediocre maison portoyent des chapperons de drap, facts de plusieurs larges lais, ou bandes entortillées autour de la teste, & deux aisles aux costez, comme oreilles d'asne. Il y en avoit aussi d'autres des grandes maisons, qui portoyent des chapperons de veloux noir, de la hauteur d'une couldée, lesquels bon trouveroit maintenant fort laid & estranges. L'on ne pourroit bonnement monstrer ces diverses façons d'accoustremens des dames en les escrivant, & seroit besoing qu'un peintre les representast. L'on en void plusieurs façons exprimées, estapisseries à Lyon, & aux verrières des églises, faites de ce temps là. Au surplus les filles, depuis qu'elles estoyent fiancées, jusques après un an entier des leur nopces, portoyent un ornement de teste, qu'on nommoit à Lyon *Floccard*, lequel elles laissoyent, estāt l'année revolve, & prenoyent les chapperons susdicts."[a]

In a manuscript of the "Stimulus Conscientiae" is mentioned the horned head-dress :

> " and wemen in the same wyse
> usit mony a quiente gyse,
> now beth her clothes forrud wyt oute
> summe fot, summe halfot, all aboute,
> sūme beth nakyd al ye breste
> & sūme beth *horned as a beste*."

In the Widkirk play, entitled "Judicium," Tuttivillus, in the course of his speech, gives a description of a lady whose head-dress is "horned like a cowe."[b]

The high steeple head-dress (though sometimes used by the English ladies) is chiefly represented in *French* MSS. thence we may be inclined to believe that this fashion was mostly adopted by that nation, rather than by the ladies of this country. It is curious to observe, that lofty head-dresses prevail in Normandy

[a] The horned head-dress may be found as late as the reign of Elizabeth, but covered in the middle by a kind of cloth, or drapery. See a specimen, as worn in one of the French provinces (Pl. VIII. fig. 17) published by Boissard in 1581.

[b] Collier's Annals of the Stage, vol. ii. 224.

at this present day, but with some small variation from those of the 14th and 15th centuries. (See a few specimens in Plate III.)

"France Painted to the Life," 1656, (written by Dr. Heylin, who visited that country in 1625) mentions the dames of Paris; "their habit in which they differ from the rest of France is the attire of their heads, which hangeth down their backs in fashion of a vail. In Rouen and the greater cities it is made of linen pure and decent, but here and in the villages it cannot possibly be any thing than an old dishclout turned out of service, or the corner of a table-cloth reserved from washing."

Plate III. figg. 7 to 18 contains various head-dresses from Edward IV. to Henry VII.; these may be compared with the wood-cuts in the Nuremburg Chronicle (Plate IV.)

Before the reign of Henry VII. a kind of dress was worn formed at the top of the head like the ridge of a roof, and continuing down each side of the face, as in the portrait of Margaret Countess of Richmond and Derby, and also in that of Anne Duchess of Exeter, sister of Edward IV. of which a sketch is given (Pl. V. fig. 6.)

In the reigns of Henry VII. and VIII. the head-dress assumed a different character, having long lappets or ear-pieces hanging down on each side of the face, and extending below the shoulders, of which a single specimen from a brass-plate[e] in Writtle Church near Chelmsford, may be sufficient to give an idea (see Pl. V. fig. 10.)

The lappets were sometimes made narrow at the temples and broad below the shoulders (see Pl. V. figg. 1, 2, and 5; Pl. VI. fig. 8.)

Pl. V. figg. 1, 2, and 3; Pl. VI. figg. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, are from some old tapestry of the date of Henry VIII. and give us the detail of the ornaments, as jewels, drops, and spangles. The lappets were sometimes made of dark velvet, and studded with pearls and jewels.

Pl. V. fig. 3, is a cap with an ornamental dress twisted round at the back of the head.

[e] It is a common practice to take off impressions from brass-plates by means of rubbing with lead, or black leather upon paper; but this is a great error, as may be seen by fig. 9 and 10, which give the real appearance of the plates, while figg. 11 and 12 are representations of the impressions from the plates, the beautiful ornamental traceries of which are formed by accident.

1400 – 1450.

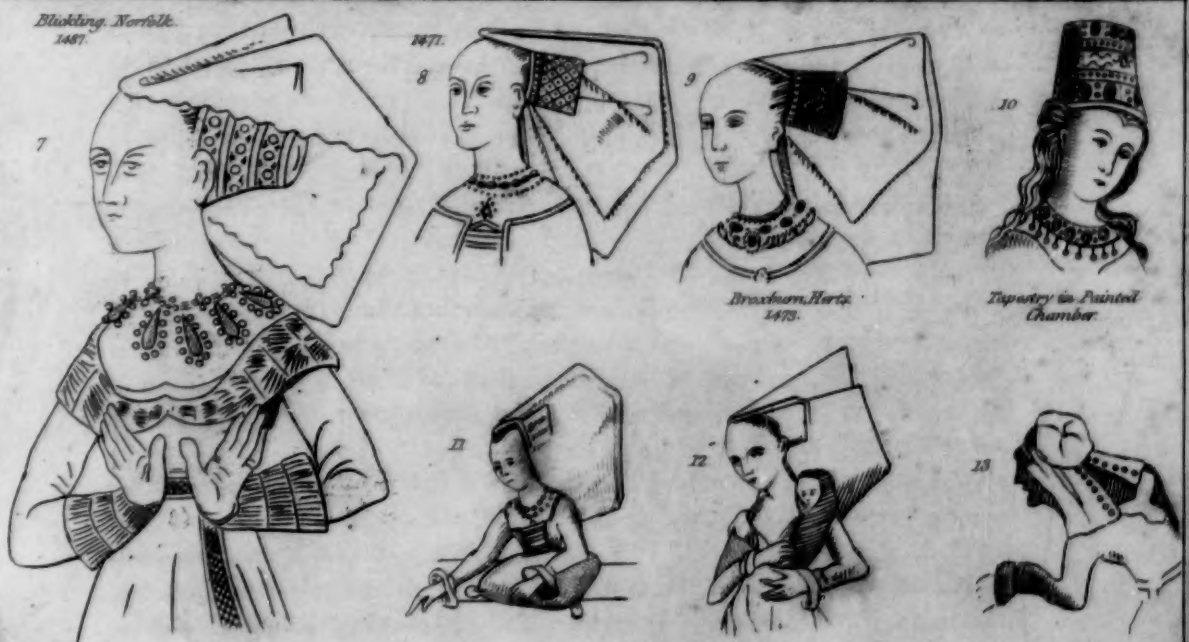
1820

Blickling. Norfolk. 1487.

1471.

Braxheam, Hartz. 1473.

Tapestry in Painted Chamber.



Between 1430 and 1491.

1473.

1493.

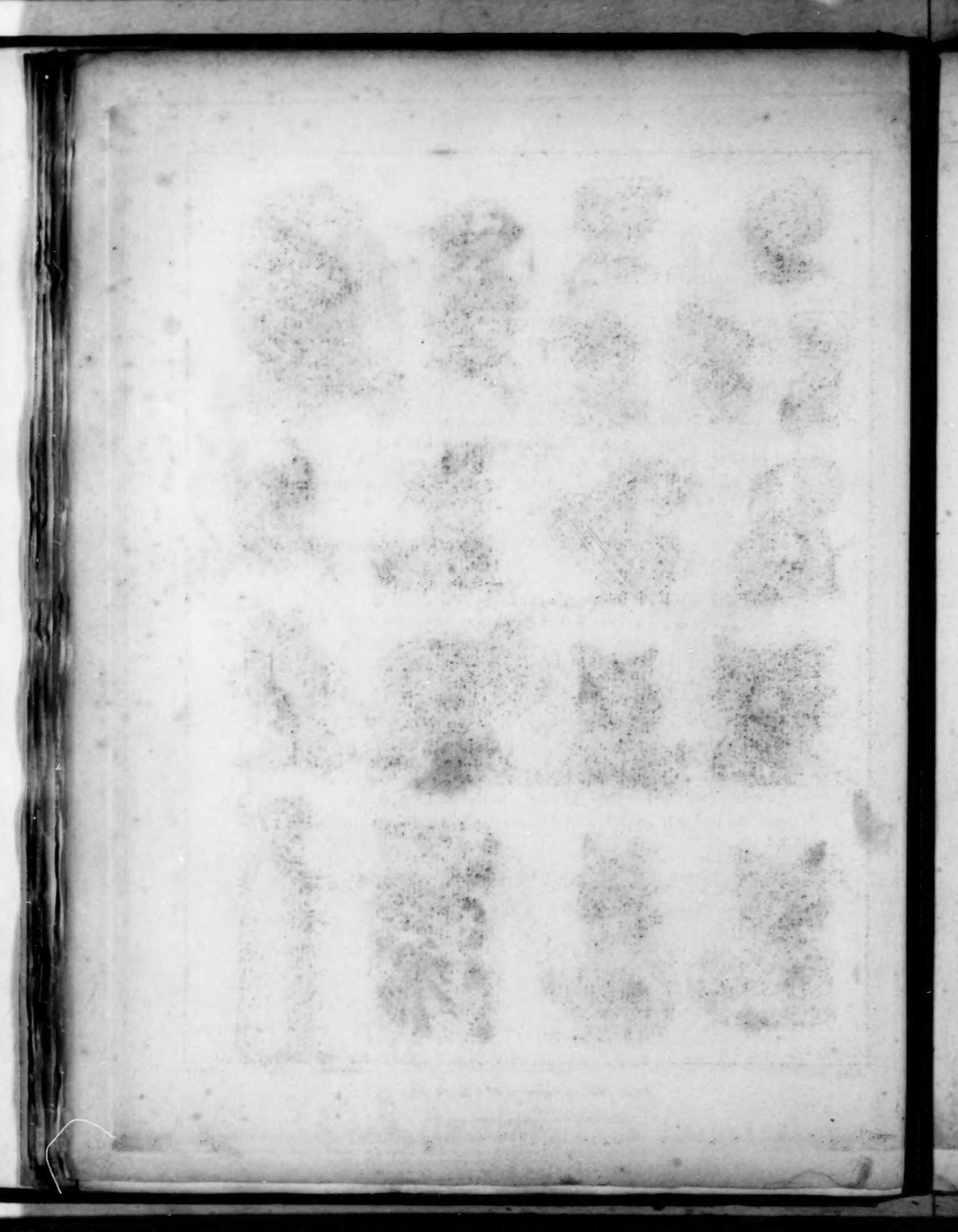
Fig. 1. from a M.S. of Froissart's Chronicle in the British Museum.
Fig. 2. & 3. from the Engravings of Johnes's Monstrelets Chronicle.
Fig. 4. 5 & 6. from Modern French Engravings.
Fig. 7. 8 & 9. from Brass Plates.

Fig. 10. from a Sketch by Mr. J. Carter.
Fig. 11. 12 & 13. from a M.S. in the British Museum of the Life & Death of the Earl of Warwick.
Fig. 14. 15. 16 & 17. from Dr. Dibdin's Spenceriana.
Fig. 18. from La Nef des fols du Monde. 1497. & 1499.

J.A. Repton. del.

P. Basire. sc.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 21st 1837.



J.A.Repton. del.

J. Basire sc.

From the Nuremburg Chronicle. 1493.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 27th 1837.

Figs. 1.2.3. From some Ancient Tapestry in the possession of John Adey Repton.

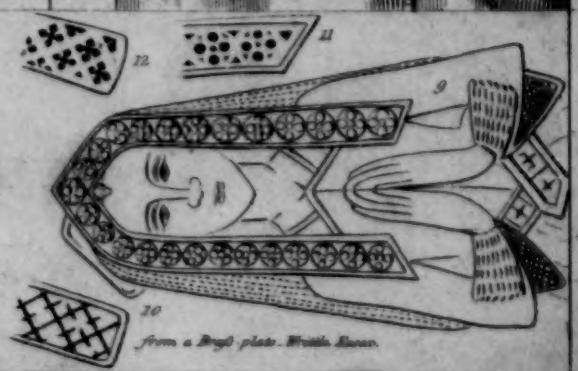
From the Square of Icons Degre.

From "Le Calendrier des Bergers" 1493

Duchess of Exeter Sister to Edward IV. 1475.

La Grande Danse Macabre (ab 1500)

Damian Aubois

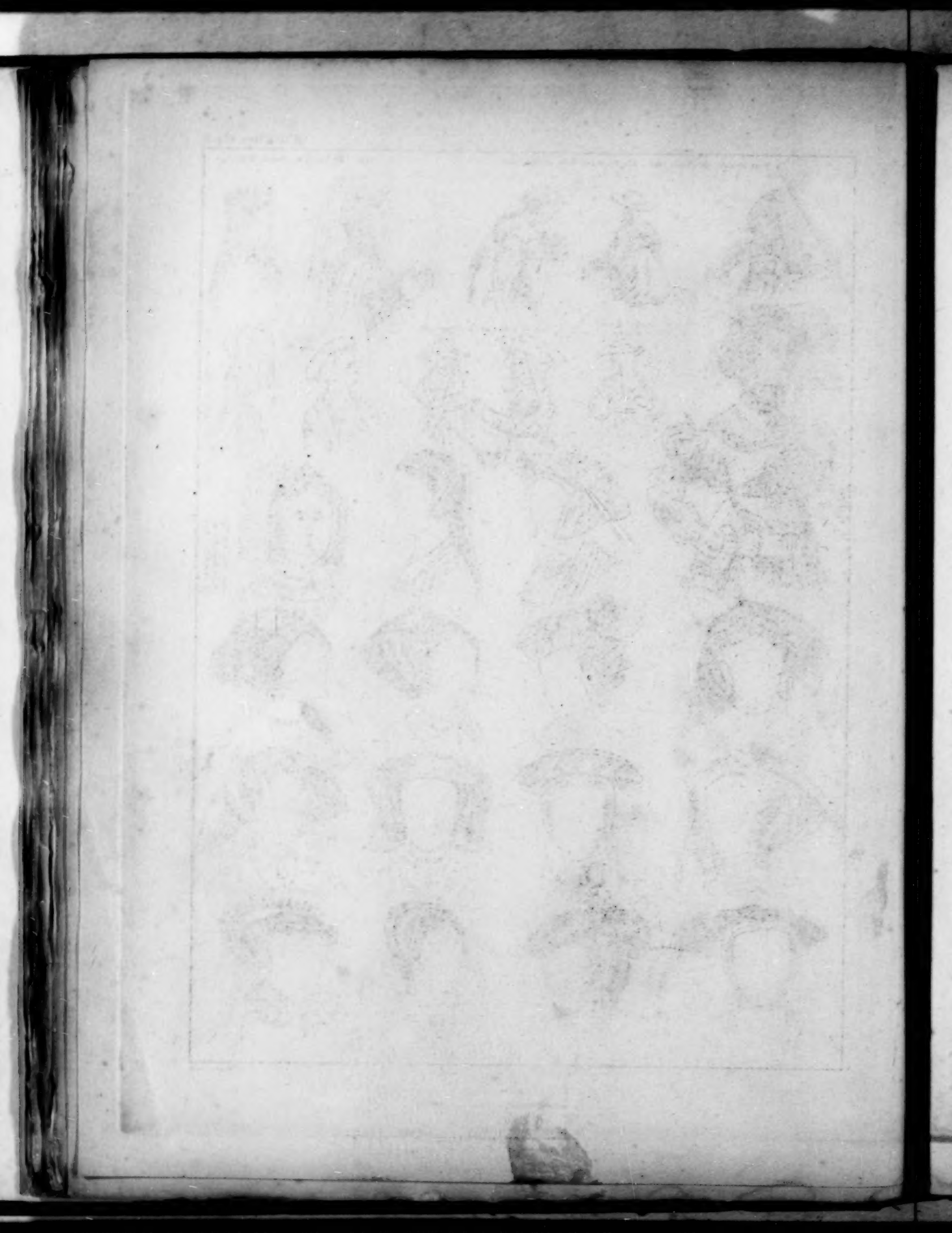


From a Royal plate. Welsh Harp.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London April 9th 1835

From some Ancient Tapestry in the poſſeſsion of John Adey Repton.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London April 10th 1837.



from Amadis de Gaule 1548. The Wood cuts have y^e date 1590
from Hedingham Church. Essex
from the Tapestry in the Prince Chamber
from Le Calendrier des Bergers 1493
from a Wood cut temp. Henry VIII.
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 25th 1837.

Specimens of Head dresses in the reign of Elizabeth & James I.

Lady Throgmorton. ob.1580.

Lady Ramsay. 1577.

From a Monument in Westminster Abbey. 1596.

1

2

3

4

5

F. Howard. Countess of Essex and Somerset.

6

J. Amman. 1580.

7

8

1557

9

1574

10

11

1572

Lady Lucy Percy (about the beginning of the reign of Ja.s I.)

Rubens first Wife.

Figs. 9. 10 & 11. from Brass Plates.

23

24

Q. Elizabeth's progress.

14

15

16

A Child's Hat.

Figs. 17 to 22. from J.J. Boissard. 1581.

17

18

19

20

21

22

30

31

32

33

25

1606.

Brass Plate in Norfolk.

27

1606

28

29

1614

Wishes Emblems (Plates compl.d Vol.I.)

26

Figs. 27 & 28. Brass Plates from Wraffe Church. Essex.

I.A. Repton. del.

J.s Basire. sc.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. April 15th 1837.

Specimens in the reigns of Charles I. and II.

Figs. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5 & 6. from Hollar's Prints.—1625 to 1649.

from a print of Rubens. | from Gods revenge against Murder. | from a print of Vandyke. | a satyrical print of Cromwell. | Bulwer's Artificial Changling.

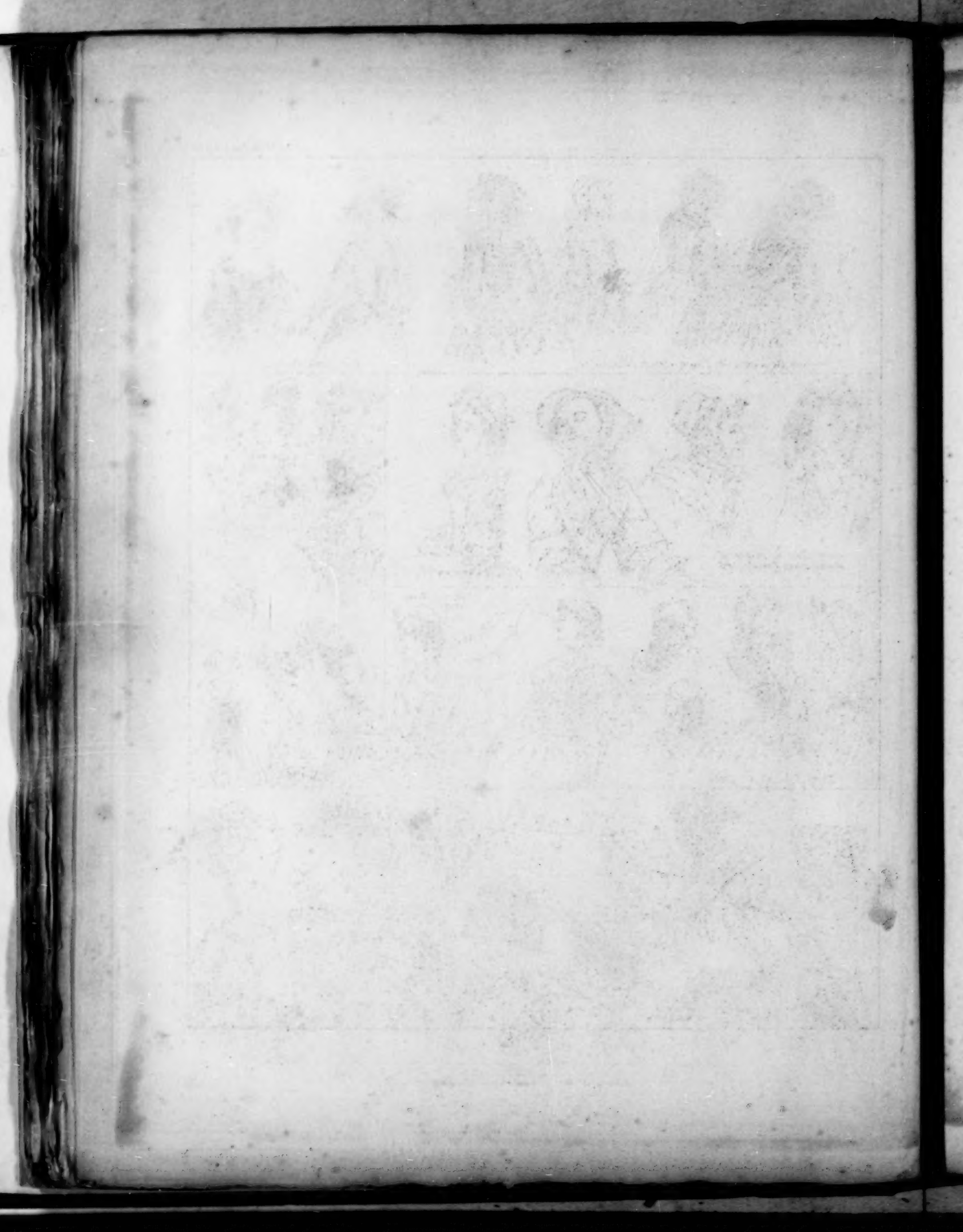
from G. B. Falda. Roma.—1660. | from Engravings of Family Portraits. | Nanteuil's Drawg. 1662.

Specimens from the reign of William III. to 1720.

Q. Mary II. by G. Valck. | Plate Staffordsh. 1686. | Memoires &c. Angleterre 1698. | Kip's Views 1715.

from Le Theatre Italien. 1717. | from D'Hypolite Comte de Duglas. 1713. | from Le Theatre de La Foire. 1721.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 4th of 15th 1837.



Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. April 19th 1827

The lappets, which hung down on each side of the face, were frequently made to turn up, as in Pl. VII. figg. 4, 14, 17, 18, and 21. Fig. 21 is from a print of Anne Boleyn, by Hollar.[d]

The head-dresses during the reigns of Henry VII. and the early part of Henry VIII. as seen in many of the portraits, appear to be formed by four straight lines, the upper lines like a flat gable of a roof. The head-dresses of Anne Boleyn and Lady Surrey were formed by two rows of beads.

Another peculiar fashion of the head-dress, is the *Frontlet*, which was made by folding over to shade the face from the sun. Frontlets in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were of considerable breadth. Pl. VI. figg. 1, 2, 6, 7; Pl. VII. fig. 3. This fashion continued to the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. as may be seen in several monuments, &c.; but they became narrower, as in Pl. VIII. figg. 3, 4, and 5, from Westminster Abbey, and fig. 19; they were sometimes highly enriched, as seen in a monument in the south side of the Abbey. That the *frontlet* was sometimes very costly we gather from an item of expense in the reign of Henry VIII.

"Payed for a *frontlet* loste in a wager to my lady Margaret iiij.*li.*[e]

The cap (as well as the lappets) was frequently very highly enriched with jewels, and generally formed into net-work, from whence it derived the word caul. Dr. Johnson says, "caul, of uncertain etymology, the net in which women inclose their hair, the hinder part of a woman's cap."[f]

The webs of spiders are sometimes called *cauls*, as in Clitus's Whimzies, page 7.

[d] Figg. 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, and 22 are copied from Holbein's Portraits, published by Chamberlaine. Figg. 17, 20, and 23, from Hollar; 15, 16, and 24, from other prints. Figg. 15, 16, and 17 represent three different head-dresses of Anne Boleyn; fig. 18 the head-dress of the Marchioness of Dorset, of an earlier date than the engraving of her published by the Society. Figg. 19 and 20 Anne of Cleves; figg. 24, Catharine Parr. Figg. 21, 25, the head-dress of Queen Mary at different periods.

[e] Ellis's Letters, vol. i. 273.

[f] A *cowl*, a monk's hood, derived, according to Dr. Johnson, from cuzle, Saxon: cucullus, Latin. It may be observed that this word and *caul* both allude to the covering of the head. The language formerly used at the English court, and among the higher ranks of society, was Norman-French, and of course with the French pronunciation, as in the diphthong *au*, pronounced *ou* or *ow*, as in *Pauls*, which was formerly pronounced *Powles*.

" His shelves, for want of Authors, as subtilly interwoven with *spider's caules.*"

The following quotations relating to the caul or net-work with jewels, &c. may be worthy of notice.

In the romance of Kyng Alexander,

" Hire yelowe heer was faire atyred
" With riche stringes of gold wyred."

It is unnecessary to give every passage from our early romances, or even to quote Chaucer's prologue to the legend of Goode Women, as

" A fret of golde she had next her heere."

There is a print of the Lady Abergavenny (who died in 1525) in which she is represented with a rich caul, with the Gothic and the Roman letters A in octagon patterns; she was sometimes called Bergavenny, which is incorrect. " Sir Edward Nevil, brother to the Lord Abergavenny, was arrested in 1538," thus the name is spelt in Sir H. Ellis's Letters, cxxxv.[g]

" In the Visit of the Duke of Najera to England," is mentioned, that the Princess Mary wore " a head-dress of many rich stones " [el tocado de muchas piedras ricas]. All the other ladies were dressed in different silks, with splendid head-dresses." [Archæologia, vol. XXIII.]

Holinshed describes the procession of Queen Mary in 1553, and says, that she had " on her head a *kall* of cloth of *tinsell* beeset with pearle and stone, and above the same upon her head a round circlet of golde beeset so richly with pretious stones that the value thereof was inestimable; the same kall and circle being so massie and ponderous that she was faine to bear up her head with her hand," &c.

We may form some idea of the richness and splendour of the jewels of the head-dresses from the engravings in Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, and also from a highly finished print of the Marchioness of Dorset [published by the Society, plate IV.] This portrait, with the curved lines formed by wires on each side of the forehead, which superseded the four straight lines round the

g That the initial letter of the name was worn about the time of Henry VIII. we find by a portrait of the Lady Monteagle; she has the letter M ornamented with pearls, &c. at the end of her necklace.

face, reminds us of a poem, entitled, the "Quippes for upstart new-fangled Gentlewomen," 1595.

"These flaming heades with staring haire,
These *wyers turnde like horns of ram*,"——Again,
"These glittering *caules* of golden plate
Wherewith their heads were richlie dect,
Makes them to seeme an angel's mate
In judgment of the simple sect." [h]

A letter to Cecil, Lord Burleigh, gives an account of the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, that "on her head she had a dressing of lawne edged with bone lace,"—"a vail of lawne fastened to the *caule*, bowed out with wyre and edged round about with bone lace."

In the various pictures of Mary Queen of Scots, in one she has auburn hair, in another black, and in another yellow. We have in Hayne's State Papers, p. 511, a letter from Mr. White, servant of Queen Elizabeth, to Mr. William Cecil, mentioning his having seen her at Tutbury: "*she is a goodly personage*, says he, &c. *her hair is black*, but Mr. Knowles told me, she wears hair of sundry colours." [i]

The following quotation from the Letters edited by Sir H. Ellis [ccxxxvi. 2nd series] relates to the wardrobe of Queen Elizabeth, 1587.

"When Hentzner saw Elizabeth in her 67th year, she wore false hair, and that red. In the jewel book here mentioned we have a long list of her Majesty's *wigs*, or rather *head dresses*; they are called at the head of the page *Attiers*.

"Item, one cawle of hair set with pearls, in number xliij.

"Item, one cawle of hair set with pearle of sundry sort and bigness, with seed pearl between them chevron-wise, cxcj.

"Item, a caule with nine trueloves of pearl, and seven buttons of gold; in each button a rubie."

Among the MSS. in the British Museum there is a curious letter from James I. to his son in Spain, describing the different jewels, &c. which were

[h] Restituta, vol. iii.

[i] See Gent. Mag. for Oct. 1790, review of Gilpin's Picturesque Views of Scotland.

sent for the Infanta ; " a head-dressing of two and twenty great peare pearles ; and ye shall give her three goodlie peare pendant dyamonts, qwhair of the biggest to be worne at a needle on the middeth of her foreheade, and one in everie eare." (Macauley's History of England, vol. i. 202.)

Stubs likewise alludes to the Caules and the extravagance of the head attire of his time :

"They have also other ornaments besides these to furnishe forthe their ingenious heades, which they call (as I remember) *caules*, made netwise, to the ende, as I thinke, that the clothe of golde, clothe of silver, or else tinseli (for that is worst wherewith their heads are covered and attired withall underneath their caules) may the better appeare and shew itself in the bravest manner, so that a man that seeth them (their heads glister and shine in such sorte) would think them to have golden heades. And some weare lettice cappes with three hornes, three corners I should say, like the forked cappes of priests, with their perriwinckles, chitterlinges, and ye like apiste toyes of infinite varietie."

Likewise " Willobie his Avisa," &c. 1605.

" Silke gownes and velvet shalt thou have,
With hoods and *caules*, fit for thy head,
Of goldsmithes worke a border brave,
A chain of gold ten-double spread."

British Bibliographer, vol. iv.

These caules, however richly ornamented, seem not to have prevented bonnets from being worn over them. Hall describes " The Ladie Marie, doughter to the king, and with her seven ladies, all appareled after the romayne fashion in riche cloth of gold of tissue and crimosin tinsel bendy, and their heres wrapped in *calles* of gold, with bonets of crimosin velvet on their heddes set full of pearle and stone."

Hall also gives a minute description of the meeting of the King with Anne of Cleves, and throughout the whole account we hear no complaint of her want of beauty, or of being called the *Flanders Mare*. The King conducted himself in every respect as a well bred man ; he met her at Rochester, when she " received and welcomed him on her knees, whom he gently took up and kyssed, and all that afternoone communed and devised with her, and that night supped with her." Without entering into the detail of the dress of Anne of

Cleves, I shall merely describe her head-dress; she had "on her head a *kall*, and over it a round boñet or cappe set full of orient perle of a very proper fassyon, and before that she had a cornet of blacke velvet, and about her necke she had a partelet set full of riche stones which glistered all the felde." Notwithstanding all these splendid jewels upon the head-dress, the English or French fashion seems to have improved her appearance. "On whiche daie she was appareiled after the Englishe fassion, with a French whode, which so set forth her beautie and good visage, that every creature rejoysed to behold her." Again: "O what a syght was this to see so goodly a prince and so noble a kyng to ride with so fayre a lady of so goodly a stature and so womanly a countenance, and in especial of so good qualities, I think no creature could see them but his hearte rejoysed."

In the Rolls of Provisions upon the marriage of the daughters of Sir J. Nevil, temp. Henry VIII. we have the prices of a bonnet:

	s.	*d.*
"Item, 3 black velvet bonnits for women, every bonnit 17*s.*	51	0
Item, a frontlet of blue velvet,	7	6
Item, a millen[k] bonnit, dressed with agletts	11	0
Item, a bonnit of black velvet	15	0
Item, a frontlet for the same bonnit	12	0"

In the Household accounts of the Lestranges we find that the Milan bonnets were worn by *gentlemen.*

"Item, p[d] the same daye for ij *Myllen* cappes for Mr. Hamonde le Strange iiij. *s.* viij. *d.*"

Sir Thomas Elyot said it would be ridiculous to see an apprentice of the law, or pleader, to come to the bar with a Millayne or French bonnet on his head set full of aiglettes.

Hall likewise speaks of these Millen bonnets; ten ladies had "on their heades square bonnettes of damaske gold with lose golde that did hang doune at their backes," &c. "Ten other ladies had Myllaine bonettes of crimosyn sattin drawen through with clothe of golde."

In addition to the bonnets and caps, there was another article for the female

[k] Milan, a city in Lombardy, whence our milliner.

head attire, called a *hood.* In early writers, this word was sometimes spelt *hoke*, and this has led to the mistake of imagining the word *huke* may have the same meaning; but this is a different dress from the hoke or hood, as explained in vol. XXI. of the Archæologia, as derived from *hucca*, *hucque*, or *heuke*,[1] a mantle. Cole's Dict. 1724, says, it is a Spanish or German mantle covering the whole body.

We see by the following quotation, that this mantle was worn by Elinor Rummin; the last ten lines only, allude to her head-dress. Mr. Strutt, in giving the same extract, has inserted the word *duke* for *huke*, probably a misprint:

"Her *huke* of Lincole greene,
It had bene hers, I weene,
More than fortye yeare,
And so it doth appeare,
And the grene bare thredes
Looke like sere wedes,
Withered like haye,
The wool worne awaye,
And yet I dare saye
She thinketh herself gay
Upon a holyday
When she doth araye
And girdeth in her getes
Stitched & pranked with pletes.
Her kirtell bristow red
With clothes upon her heade
That they way a sowe of leade
Wrythen in a wonder wise
After the Sarazins gise
With a whim wham
Knit with a trim tram
Upon her brayne panne
Like an Egiptian
Capped aboute
When she goeth oute."

A portrait representing her (dated 1620) with a broad brimmed hat and a small peaked crown is probably imaginary, but it seems from the above quotation that her head-dress was as magnificent as her superiors, and similar to the specimens of those from the Nuremburg Chronicle, or that from a single head in the Cowdray picture. [See Pl. VII. fig. 11.]

What was the distinguishing difference in the form of the *French hood* from that of the English, I have not been able clearly to ascertain; but that the French hoods were worn from the reign of Henry VIII. to that of Charles I. by the ladies of the court, appears from the following quotations:

[1] In "the Ladies' Dictionary," the *huke* is thus explained: "A Dutch attire, covering the head, face, and all the body." From this it appears, that the mantle and the hood sometimes formed one dress, which may account for the hood being confounded with the huke.

In "A mery play betwene the Pardoner and ye Frere, the Curate and neybour Pratte," written before 1521, mentioning the various rilics, the Pardoner says:

"And here is of our Lady al relyke full good,
Her bongrace, which she ware with her *French hode.*" [m]

In the household and privy-purse accounts of the Lestranges of Hunstanton we find the following:

"1530. It'm, pd the xvijth day of December to Mrs. Brograve, by the hand of Bartyllmew Skyppon, for ij. *French hoods*, wt the byllym^ts^ for Kat'yne and Anne . . . . . xxx*s.*

Edwd. VI. "a hatte for my ladye, and a hatte for my lady Hastings, of velvett . . . . . xxviij*s.*

"———for a *French hoode* xiij*s.* and for ij cornetts of velvett x*s.* for my ladie . . . . . xxiij*s.*"

And the ladies in the lower grades of society, we find in those days were no less emulous of copying the fashions of their superiors than in the present times. This vanity is satirized in a passage of Stubs:

"Then on toppes of their stately turrets (I mean their goodly heades wherein is more vanitie then true philosophie now and then) stand their capitall ornaments, as *French hood*, hatte, cappe, kercher, and such like, whereof some be of velvet, some of taffatie, some (but few) of wooll; some of this fashion, some of that; some of this colour, some of that; according to the variable phantasies of their serpentine mindes. And to suche excesse it is growne, as every artificer's wife (almost) will not sticke to goe in her hat of velvet every day, every merchant's wife, and meane gentle-woman, in her *French hoode*, and every poore cottager's daughter in her taffatie hat, or els of wooll at least, &c."

And again, "The Golden Fleece, divided into three parts, &c. by Orpheus junior, 1626," says:

"In France the meaner sort of women weare hoods of taffata, others of sattin, and the better of velvet. No man intrudes upon another's vocation. But with us, Joane is as good as my lady; citizens' wives are of late grown gallants," &c.[n]

[m] Collier's Annals of the Stage, vol. ii. 387.

[n] British Bibliographer, vol. ii.

In a collection of epigrams by Sir John Mennis and Dr. J. Smyth (about 1658) is a complaint from a lady of fashion:

"*Lusia*, who scorns all others' imitations,
Cannot abide to be outgone in fashions;
She says she cannot have a hat or ruffe,
A gown or peticoat, a band or cuffe,
But that these citizens (whom she does hate)
Will get into't, at ne'er so dear a rate;
But *Lusia* now doth such a fashion wear,
Whose hair is curl'd, and cost her somewhat dear,
That there's no citizen, what-e'er she be,
Can be transform'd so like an owl as she."

And from the "London Prodigal," 1605 (Act iii. sc. i.)

"*Civ.* No, Franke, I'll have thee go like a citizen in a guarded gown and a *French hood.*

"*Fran.* By my troth, that will be excellent indeed."

"*Del.* Brother, maintain your wife to your estate,
Apparel you yourself like to your father,
And let her go like to your ancient mother,
He, sparing, got his wealth, left it to you,
Brother, take heed of pride, it soon bids thrift adieu.

"*Civ.* So as my father and mother went, that's a jest indeed; why she went in a fringed gown, a single ruff, and a *white cap.*"—Again,

"*Civ.* I have set down my rest, thus far, to maintain my wife in her *French hood*, and her coach," &c.

Velvet seems to have been considered the most elegant material for the head. In the "City Madam," 1632, the knight's lady wore "a chain of gold,

"A *velvet hood*, rich borders, and sometimes
A dainty minever cap," &c.[o]

[o] "Minever is the fur of the ermine mixed with that of the small wesel (Menuvair) called gris or grey." (Cotgrave.) The nobility had them of ermine and sable, the wealthy merchants of vair and grey (the dainty minever). The lower order of people, &c. of the squirrel, lamb, and above all of rabbits' skins, &c.

" Cornu-copiae, Pasquil's Night-cap," 1612, thus speaks of the velvet hood:

" That (sure) I thinke them in their hattes as good,
As gentle-women in their *velvet hood,*
Indeed the gentlewomen looke more high,
And of the citizens will take the wall,
Yet have they but their pensions quarterly,
To keep themselves, and find their house withall."

" The Wits, by Sir W. Davenant," (1636) A. ii. s. 1.

" *V. Pal.* Yes, and she looks like the old slut of Babylon
Thou has read of. I told her she must die,
And her beloved *velvet hood* be sold
To some Dutch brewer of Ratcliffe, to make
His yaw frow slippers."

There is a print by Hollar, of a person leaning upon a table; he wears a mantle, upon which is represented a great variety of female heads, from which we may form a perfect idea of the fashion which prevailed during the reign of Charles I. viz. the cap, the dark-coloured hood, the small curls on the head-dress, the light-coloured hat over the cap, &c. It is extremely curious. The Vandyck lace over the shoulders, the small curls of the hair, and the pearl drops to the ears, are too well known to require any description.

Another print by Hollar, of the coronation of Charles II. represents the peeresses with their coronets. Behind them are the wives of the commoners, &c. some in their hair with small curls, others in hoods fastened under their chins.

There are also prints by Hollar, representing the four seasons; Spring and Summer with their heads uncovered, the hair in small curls; Autumn with a dark velvet hood and tippet; and Winter in the same kind of hood, with the addition of a black mask, and her shoulders covered with fur, and a fur muff.

The *Querpo Hood* (corrupted from Cuerpo, *Sp.* a dress fitting to the body,) seems to have been chiefly worn by Puritans, and by females of the lowest rank of society. In the works of Ned Ward is a dialogue between a pround termagant and her miserly husband; she says,

" No face of mine shall by my friends be view'd
" In Quaker's Pinner and a *Querpo hood.*"

The wife of Cromwell is thus described in a satire entitled "The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth, commonly called Joan Cromwell," &c. 1664.

"She was the same recluse likewise in her habit; rather harnessing herself in the defence of her cloathes, than allowing herself the loose and open bravery thereof, as not having been used to such light armour; and her hood, till her face was seen in her highnesses glasse, was clapt on like a head-piece, without the art of ensconcing and entrenching it double and single in redoubts and hornworks. In fine, she was cape-a-pe like a baggage lady, and was out of her element in her vicinity to ye court and city."

The Spectator, No. 265, gives some account of *hoods* at an opera. "As I was standing in the hinder part of the box, I took notice of a little cluster of women sitting together in the prettiest coloured hoods that I ever saw. One of them was blue, another yellow, and another philomot; the fourth was of a pink colour, and a fifth of a pale green. I looked with as much pleasure upon this party-coloured assembly as upon a bed of tulips," &c.

In No. 271, "I was last Thursday in an assembly of ladies, where there were thirteen different coloured hoods." Again, "She told me the other day that she heard the ladies wore coloured hoods, and ordered me to get her one of the finest blue."

In No. 273 is an "Advertisement from the Parish Vestry." "All ladies who come to church in the new-fashioned *hoods*, are desired to be there before divine service begins, lest they divert the attention of the congregation.

RALPH."

No. 517, speaking of Sir Roger de Coverley, "It being a very cold day when he made his will, he left for mourning to every man in the parish a great frize coat, and to every woman a *black riding-hood*."

Beau Nash, who was master of the ceremonies at Bath in the reign of Queen Anne, found some difficulty in preventing the country squires from dancing in boots at the assemblies. One of his contrivances was the getting up a puppet show, "in which Punch came in booted and spurred in the character of a country squire. He was introduced as courting his mistress, and having obtained her consent to comply to his wishes, upon going to bed he is desired to pull off his boots. 'My boots,' replied Punch, 'why, madam, you may as well bid me pull off my legs. I never ride, I never dance without them; and this

piece of politeness is quite the thing at *Bath*. We always dance in our town in boots, and the ladies often move minuets in *riding hoods*.' Thus he goes on, till his mistress, grown impatient, kicks him off the stage."

That the female Quakers wore hoods in 1737, we find in the following passage from Gay's Trivia, Book iii.

" Nay, she will oft the *Quaker's hood* prophane,
And trudge demure the rounds of Drury Lane.'

Again—

" In *riding hood* near tavern doors she plies."

In the Connoisseur, No. 134, we have new fashions introduced into the country from London (about 1756), " a grocer's wife attracted our eyes by a new-fashioned cap, called a Joan; and at another (borough town), they were wholly taken up by a mercer's daughter in a *nun's hood*."

One of the useful appendages to the female head-dress is the *calash*. At what time it was introduced, I have not been able to ascertain; it is not mentioned as a *head-dress* in any of the editions of Johnson's Dictionary [except that of 1820]; probably it was not known when the first edition was published in 1754, nor is it noticed by Dyche 1760, nor by Barclay 1774. But from a drawing in my possession, it may be traced as early as 1776, [see Plate X. fig. 6]. Its name was probably derived from the head or hood which was added to the carriages called calashes.

The next article of the female head-dress is the *hat*. This word was anciently applied to all coverings for the head, and it is difficult to say when it was distinguished from a bonnet or cap; but it seems to be used according to the acceptation of the modern term by Chaucer, who describes the wife of Bath as wearing,

" On her hede an *hat*
" As brode as is a bokeler or a targe."

My quotations on the subject will commence with the reign of Henry VIII. About that period we occasionally meet with specimens from old tapestries, paintings, &c. some with a broad brim, but those which are without any brim, are of an earlier date. A sketch of the latter, ornamented with jewels, is given [Plate III. fig. 10,] from a drawing by Mr. J. Carter, from the old tapestry which formerly hung in the Painted Chamber.

In the 28th of Henry VIII. we find among the new year's gifts to the Lady Mary, "a *hat* from Dr. Augustine."[p]

On taking up our freedom in a corporate city, we are required to be buxome and obedient to Mr. Mayor; but in the following quotation, we find that the Mayor of Chester expected the *ladies* to be obedient to his commands: "32 Henry VIII. Henry Gee, Mayor, to distinguish head-dresses of married women from unmarried; no unmarried women to wear white or other coloured caps, and no women to wear any *hat* unless when she rides or goes abroad into the country, (except sick or aged persons) on pain of 3*s*. 4*d*."[q]

We rarely meet with specimens of women's *hats* in the reign of Henry VIII. Two examples are given, one from the tapestry in the Prince's Chamber [Pl. VII. fig. 7], and the other from a wood-cut 1520 [in the same Plate, fig. 2]; these have low crowns and broad brims.

But about the year 1550, the *high crowned hats* were introduced, rounded at the top like a sugar loaf; this form continued during a great part of the reign of Elizabeth; the tops of the high crowned hats were afterwards made straight, but the sugar loaf hat continued till as late as the reign of Charles I. In Webster's "Westward Ho," (Act v.), the sugar loaf is thus mentioned:

"*Sir Gos.* I would prove 'em, mother, best-betrust; why do I not know you, grannum? and that *sugar loaf*? ha! do I not megaera."

"*Bird.* I am none of your megs," &c.

Bulwer, in the "Vanity of Apparell," speaks of women wearing the sugar loaf as well as the men.

The following is from a scarce work entitled "Theeves falling out, or true men come by their goods, &c. by R. Greene, 1637." In a dialogue between a he-foyst and a she-foyst, the woman says, "suppose you are good at a *lift*, that is, shop-lifting—in mercers' shops, with haberdashers of small wares, haberdashers of *hats* and caps, &c. who be more cunning than we women, in that we are most trusted? For they little suspect us, and we have as close conveyance as you men; though you have cloakes, we have skirts of gownes, hand-baskets, the *crownes of our hats*, our plackards, and

[p] Ellis's Letters, vol. i. 292.

[q] Lysons's Cheshire, p. 600.

for a neede, false bags under our smocks, wherein we may convey more closely then you." [Harl. Miscel. vol. iv. 249, 8vo.]

In the "Magnetick Lady," of Ben Johnson (Act V.) a high price for a emale hat is described:—

"You shall have a new, brave, four pound *beaver hat*, set with enamel'd "studs, as mine is here."

In the reign of Elizabeth and James, hats made of beaver were considered too expensive for women of inferior fortune; they were made of cheaper materials, as described by Shakspeare:

"And there's her thrum hat, and her mufflers too."[r]

In the history of George Dobson, printed 1607, a country ale-wife is described as wearing a "square thrumb'd hat."[s]

The high-crowned hats, after they had been worn by ladies of fashion until they were imitated by the canaille, were exchanged in the reign of Charles I. for the more graceful fashion of the broad spreading *hat*, the crown lowered, and ornamented with feathers [Plate IX. figg. 1, 2, 8, 12, 13, and 14], and are chiefly found in the paintings of Rubens and Vandyck.

Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, (edited by Dallaway,) mentions the picture of the Queen of James I. "His Queen in a hunting dress, hat, and feather, with her horse and five dogs, at Kensington, with a view of the Palace at Oatlands, painted by Paul Vansomer."

The following passages are from the Diary of Samuel Pepys, Esq.

"1663.—The Lady Castlemaine rode among the rest of the ladies; she looked mighty out of humour, and had a yellow plume on her *hat* (which all took notice of). I followed them up to White Hall, and into the Queen's presence, where all the ladies walked, talking and fidling with their *hats* and *feathers*, and changing and trying one another's by one another's heads and laughing. But it was the finest sight to me, considering their great beautys and dress, that ever I did see in all my life. But above all, Mrs. Stewart in this dresse, with her hat cocked and a red plume," &c.

"1665, July 27,—But it was pretty (at Hampton Court the King and Queen, the Duke and Duchess of York, and the ladies setting out for Salisbury,)

[r] *Thrum*, any coarse yarn.

[s] Strutt, vol. iii. p. 83.

to see the young pretty ladies dressed like men, in velvet coats, *caps*,[t] and ribbands, and with laced bands, just like men, only the Duchess herself it did not become."

"1666, June 11.—Walking in the galleries at White Hall, I find the ladies of Honour dressed in their riding garbs, with coats and doublets with deep skirts, just for all the world like mine, and buttoned their doublets up the breast, with *perriwigs* and with *hats*; so that only for a long petticoat dragging under their men's coats, nobody could take them for women in any point whatever; which was an odd sight, and a sight did not please me; it was Mrs. Wells and another fine lady that I saw thus."

At the Duke's Theatre, Pepys speaks of an actress, "one dressed like a country maid with a *straw hat* on."

1667, August 11.—"The women had pleasure in putting on some *straw hats*, which are much worn in this country, and did become them mightily, but especially my wife."

1669.—Pepys mentions "the mistress of the house, an oldish woman in a hat."

Evelyn in his Diary 1666, mentions the Queen of Charles II. "The Queene was now in her cavaliere riding habite, *hat* and feather, and horseman's coate, going to take the aire."

The following extracts from the Spectator may be thought curious:

No. 435 speaks of the ladies dressing themselves in a hat and feather, a riding coat, and a perriwig, &c. One of the tenants of Sir Roger de Coverley met a gentlewoman in a coat and hat; "who meeting this gentlemanlike lady on the highway, was asked by her, *whether that was*, Coverley Hall? the honest man seeing only the male part of the querist, replied, 'Yes, Sir;' but upon the second question, *whether* Sir Roger de Coverley *was a married man*? having dropped his eye upon the petticoat, he changed his note, into '*No, madam.*'"

Again, the Spectator met "one of these my female readers in Hyde Park, who looked upon me with the masculine assurance, and cocked her hat full in my face."

[t] Here it seems as if the hat and cap were the same.

No. 485 mentions a young woman on horseback with a mien and air of a young officer, who pulled off her hat, in which there was a feather.

No 331 says of the ladies, that "they already appear in hats and feathers, coats and perriwigs,[u] and *I* see no reason why we may not suppose they would have their *riding beards* on the same occasion."

These masculine ladies are thus satirized in a French work, entitled "Le Theatre Italien de Gherardi (vol. vi. 323) anno 1696,"—"que les femmes, pour avoir quelque chose de masculin, portent au lieu de cravattes des steinkerques et le poignard au bout; qu'elles fouettent les bouteilles de vin comme des Suisses, le ratafia, et l'eau clairette comme nos jeunes officiers; qu'elles prennent du tabac en poudre comme des Espagnols, et que dans peu elles fumeront comme des Suisses," &c. &c.

That women were sometimes mistaken for men at a later period, we find in one of Lady Suffolk's Letters, 1743. "She has been called *Sir*, upon the road above twenty times." "The Duchess's (of Queensberry) dress occasioned her being mistaken for a gentleman."

The following is from Lady Suffolk's Letters, 1728: "Mrs. Berkley drives herself in a chair in a morning gown, with a white apron, a white handkerchief pinned under her head like a nun, a black silk over that, and another white handkerchief over the hat."

A paragraph in one of Pope's Letters, thus speaks of the miseries of a maid of honour in 1714. "To eat Westphalia ham in a morning, ride over hedges and ditches on borrowed hacks, and come home in the heat of the day with a fever, and (what is worse a hundred times) with a red mark in the forehead from an uneasy *hat*; all this may qualify them to make excellent wives for fox-hunters," &c.

In Nugent's Travels, 1766, the Duchess of Mecklenberg Schwerin is described in a riding habit, with a bag-wig, and a *cocked hat* with a feather."—Again, (Letter XIX.) "The ladies also wear hats and bag-wigs."

The *high-crowned hat* seems long before the reign of Queen Anne to have been out of fashion, and looked upon with contempt. Ned Ward, who

[u] In referring to the "Dictionaire de l'Academie François," 1787, we find under the word *perruque*, "Les femmes en habit de chasse portent des perruques."

flourished at that period, mentions "a fantastic lady," who says to her husband,

"I verily believe you'd have me go
In high-crown'd hat and coif, like Gammer Crow."

In one of Dryden's plays, "The Wild Gallant," Madam Isabella calls the taylor's wife in contempt, "Steeple hat." On the other hand, the common people were against any of the new fashions introduced by their superiors, as the London Spy (by Ned Ward, 1709, 4th edit.) thus speaks of the fish-women, that "their chief clamour was against high heads and patches, and they said it would have been a very good law, if Queen Mary had effected her design, and brought the proud minks of the town to have worn high-crown'd hats instead of topknots." p. 41.

In the old "Norwich Gazette, or Loyal Packet," 1712, is the following advertisement, shewing the variety of materials then in use in the formation of the hat:—

"Leonard Hirst, haberdasher of hats, between the two half-moons in Norwich market-place, has choice of fine beavers, beaverets, Carolina beavers, superfine cloth hats, and felt hats of the newest fashion. He has also fine broad beavers for the clergy, and sells by wholesale and retale, as cheap as any one. He sells hat-shavings at 18 pence, and the finest at 20 pence, double roll, rims double and single, wood hats of all sorts, bongraces, bombles, and straw-hats."

The "Dictionnaire de Commerce," 1723, gives the different materials for the French straw hats:—

"Chapeau de paille. Espèce de chapeau fait de jonc, ou de paille de seigle, dont les artisans et le menu peuple se servent en été. Il y en a aussi de fins, et d'une forme singulière, qui le dames dans quelque provinces de France, portent au lieu de parasols, contre l'ardeur du soleil. Les uns et les autres sont en forme de tissus faits de ces legères metieres diversement mises en couleur. Ceaux pour les dames se doublent ordinairement de taffetas," &c.

I shall now proceed to give a few quotations from different works relating to the *straw hats*, or bonnets.

Among the collection of epigrams of Sir John Harrington, is one in commendation of a *straw hat* worn by a great lady at court.

"That *straw* which men, and beasts, and fowls have scorn'd,
Has been by curious art and hand industrious,
So wrought, that it hath shadow'd, yea adorn'd
A head and face, of beauty and birth illustrious."

Among the epigrams of Ben Jonson, there is one to Lady Mary Wroth on a *straw hat*.

"He that saw you wear the *wheaten hat*
Would call you more than Ceres, if not that:
And drest in shepherd's tire, who would not say
You were bright Œnone, Flora, or May?"

Straw hats were worn by peasants in the reign of Charles II.; the Count de Grammont when at Tunbridge, says

"*Here*, young, fair, fresh-coloured country-girls, with clean linen, *small straw hats*, and neat shoes and stockings, sell game, vegetables, flowers, and fruit."

Gay, in his Shepherd's Week, (the Dirge, l. 125, 6.)

"My new *straw-hat*, that's trimly lin'd with green,
Let Peggy wear, for she's a damsel clean."

The Gypsey hat which was worn by ladies about forty years since, was a large round bonnet, sometimes bent down on each side and fastened by ribbons under the chin. There is a curious Italian work, entitled "Habiti Antichi et Moderni di tutto il Mondo," 1589, with engravings of the costumes of all nations, and among them, is one of a gypsey apparently of a richer class than the vagrant of the present day, "Cingana Orientale, o' vera donna errante"—"che porta in capo una diadema accommodata di legno leggiero, coperta di fasce di seta, et d'oro di diversi colori con molta bell' opera," &c.

That the Quakers and the Puritans assumed a peculiar plainness of attire is too well known to require any comment, but the subject is mentioned in the following quotations in a manner which may make them not unworthy of insertion.

"A long vest and cloke of black, or some other grave colour, with a collar of plain linen called a *turnover*, and a broad band, with the hair closely cropped,

distinguished the men of every rank, and the ladies equally excluded lace, jewels, and braided locks." [x]

The following is from the works of Tom Brown, who lived during the reigns of William III. and Anne, till the year 1704.

"What have we here, old Mother *Shipton* of the second edition, with amendments; a close black hood over a pinched coif," &c. "A compleat *she-preacher*, fit to denounce *hell* and the *devil*; but for joys, and rewards, and the like, she looks them out of countenance."

In the Life and Actions of John Everett, 1729-30, we find "The Precisions, for the most part, though they are plain in their dress, wear the best of commodities, and though a smart toupie is an abomination, yet a bob, or a natural of six or seven guineas price, is a modest covering allowed of by the saints."

In the Old Norfolk papers, entitled the "Crossgroves News, 1739," is the following passage.

"London, May 10.—Several fine ladies who used to wear French silks, French hoops of four yards wide, *tête de mouton* heads, and white satten smock petticoats, are turned Methodists and followers of Mr. Whitfield, whose doctrine of the new birth has so prevailed over them, that they now wear plain stuff gowns, no hoops, common night-mobs, and old plain bays."

The female Quakers did not allow any ribbon to their bonnet or cap. In the "Memoires et Observations en Angleterre," 1698, is a curious engraving of a Quaker's meeting, representing men in hats, and the women in cuerpo hoods, with a female preacher standing on a tub with a *high-crowned hat* as a mark of distinction.

"Aussi-tôt que la prêcheuse apperçoit un ruban, la voilà saisie de son esprit et de sa fureur; elle monte sur quelque cuve renversee, avec son chapeau pointu et sa mine pleureuse; Elle soûpire—elle gémit—elle suffle—elle murmure; et puis elle débonde en galimatias."

A letter from Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia, in 1655, to John Lord Finch, says, "As for the Countess, I can tell you heavie news of her, for she is

[x] Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, edited by Dallaway; vol. iii. p. 212.

turned Quaker, and preaches everie day in a tubb; your nephew George can tell you of her quaking, but her tubb-preaching is come since he went I believe; she, I believe, at last will prove an Adamite."[y]

Tom Brown has given us a minute or rather too sarcastic description of the Quakers, by saying—

"These are more just than the other Dissenters, because, as they pull not off their hats to God, so they pull them not off to men, whereas the others shall cringe and bow to any man they can get sixpence by, but ne'er vail the bonnet to God, by whom they may get *heaven*," &c.

Again, speaking of their dress:—

"A *long cravat* or *wig* in a man, or *high topping* and *lace* in a woman, they abominate as ensigns of vanity; but they will wear the best favours and richest silks, use the leather convenience, and be prouder in their plainness, than the haughtiest lady at court in their embroideries and jewels: their religion, indeed, seems chiefly in their clothes, and so they have more need of *taylors* than *teachers*," &c.

The Athenian Oracle says, "'Tis a great sin and error, that the levity and vanity of servants should aspire to an *equality* of *dress* with those that command."—"'Tis pride and singularity in the *Quakers* to affect a *different dress* from the world."

The following extracts may here be introduced from the "Lettres de Madame de Sévigné:"

"A Paris, samedi, 4 April, 1671.

"Je vous mandai l'autre jour la coiffure de Madame de Nevers, et dans quel excès la Martin avoit poussé cette mode; mails il y a une certaine médiocrité qui m'a charmée, et qu'il faut vous apprendre, à fin que vous ne vous amusiez plus à faire cent petites boucles sur vos oreilles, qui sont défrisées en un moment, qui siéent mal, et qui ne sont non plus à la mode présentement, que la coiffure de la reine Catherine de Medicis. Je vis hier la Duchesse de Sully et la Comtesse de Guiche, leurs têtes sont charmantes; je suis rendue, cette coiffure est faite justement pour votre visage; vous serez comme un ange, et cela est fait en un moment. Tout ce qui me fait de la peine, c'est que cette

[y] Archæologia, vol. xxi. 476.

mode, qui laisse la tête découverte, me fait craindre pour les dents. Voici ce qui *Trochanire,* (Madame de la Troche,) que vient de Saint Germain, et moi, nous allons vous faire entendre, si nous pouvons. Imaginez-vous une tête partagée a la paysanne jusqu'à deux doigts du bourrelet; on coupe les cheveux de chaque côte, d'étage en étage, dont on fait de grosses boucles rondes et négligées, qui ne viennent pas plus bas qu'un doigt au dessous de l'oreille; cela fait quelque chose de fort jeune et de fort joli, et comme deux gros bouquets de cheveux trop courts; car comme il faut les friser *naturellement*, les boucles qui en emportent beaucoup, ont attrapé plusieurs Dames, dont l'exemple doit faire trembler les autres. On met les rubans comme a l'ordinaire, et une grosse boucle nouée entre le bourrelet et la coiffure; quelquefois on la laisse traîner jusque sur la gorge. Je ne sais si nous vous avons bien représenté cette mode; je ferai coiffer une poupée pour vous l'envoyer; et puis, au bout de tout cela, je meurs de peur que vous ne vouliez point prendre toute cette peine. Ce qui est vrai, c'est que la coiffure que fait Montgobert, n'est plus supportable. Du reste, consultez votre paresse et vos dents; mais ne m'empêchez pas de souhaiter que je puisse vous voir coiffée ici comme les autres. Je vous vois, vous m'apparoissez, et cette coiffure est faite pour vous: mais qu'elle est ridicule à certaines Dames, dont l'age ou la beauté ne conviennent pas!"

And in a postscript is the following advice.

"Apres tout, nous ne vous conseillons point de faire couper vos beaux cheveux; et pour qui? bon Dieu! cette mode durera peu, et est mortelle pour les dents, taponnez-vous seulement par grosses boucles comme vous faisiez quelquefois; car les petites boucles rangées de Montgobert sont justement de tems du roi Guillemot."

Madame de Sevigné, in one of her letters (dated 27th April, 1672), says, that she found the Countess de Lude, "la Comtesse, qui pleuroit son mari: elle avoit un chapeau gris, qu'elle enfonçois dans l'excès de sa douleur; c'étoit une chose plaisante; je crois que jamais un chapeau ne s'est trouvé à pareille fête: j'aurois voulu ce jour-la mettre une coiffe ou une cornette." [z]

[z] "La Comtesse étoit grande chasseresse, et toujours vêtue en homme; elle passoit sa vie à la campagne."

In a letter dated 6th of September, 1677 :

" Je voudrois que vous vissiez jusqu'à quel excès la présence de Termes et de Flamarens fait monter la coiffure et l'adjustement de deux ou trois belles de ce pays. Enfin, des six heures du matin, tout est en l'air, coiffure *hurlupée*, poudrée, frisée, bonnet *à la bascule*, rouge, mouches, petite coiffe qui pend, eventail, corps de jupe long et serré ; c'est pour pâmer de rire."

In a letter dated the 2nd of February, 1689, she speaks of " Black owls," [a] a fashionable head-dress of that time :

" Vous avez donc eu quelque peur des pauvres petites *chouettes noires* je m'en doutai, et j'en ris en moi-même : vous trouverez qu'elles on *l'air triste ;* mais elles ne sont point *rechignées*, elles n'ont point *une voix de Mégère ;* et quand vous verrez ce qu'elles savent faire, vous trouverez qu'au lieu d'être de mauvais augure, elles font la beauté au moins de la coiffure."

We are left to conjecture whether this was the name of a head-dress, or an ornament of some kind which she was about to send her daughter.

In the letter dated December 25, 1689 :

" Votre belle sœur a *une souris,* [b] qui fait fort bien dans ses cheveux noirs."

In one of Shirley's plays, (the Ball, act I. sc. 2, 1632, 4to.) there is an allusion to the fashion of concealing a part of the forehead ; a small low forehead was at that period reckoned a beauty.

" *Ros.* But I have heard your tongue exalted much,
Highly commended.
" *Hon.* Not above your forehead,
When you have brush'd away the hairy penthouse,
And made it visible."

A curious poem by Evelyn, entitled " A Voyage to Marryland, or a Ladies Dressing room," 1690, describes the different articles that a beau must provide for his mistress. I shall confine myself to the head-dress only in the following quotation ;—Evelyn has also given an explanation of the different terms, in his *Fop's Dictionary.*

[a] " Voyez la Fable de *l'Ægle et du Hibou* par la Fontaine."
[b] The name of a fashion.

" *Calembuc* combs in *pulvil* case
To set and trim the hair and face:
And that the cheeks may both agree,
Plumpers to fill the cavity.
The *settée*, *cupée*, place aright,
Frelange, *fontange*, *favorite*:
Monté la haute, and *palisade*,
Sorti, *flandan* (great helps to trade),
Bourgoigne, *jardiné*, *cornett*.
Frilal next upper painer set,
Round which it does our ladies please,
To spread the hood called *rayonnés*:
Behind the noddle every baggage
Wears bundle *choux*, in English cabbage:
Nor *cruches* she, nor *confidents*,
Nor *passages*, nor *bergers* wants;
And when this grace Nature denies,
An artificial *tour* supplies;
All which with *meurtriers* unite,
And *creve-cœurs*, silly fops to smite," &c. [e]

[e] " *Calumbuc*—A certain precious wood, of an agreeable scent, brought from the Indies.

" *Polvil*—The Portugal term for the most exquisite powders and perfumes.

" *Plumpers*—Certain very thin, round, and light balls, to plump up and fill up the cavities of the cheeks, much used by old court countesses.

" *Settee*—Is only a double pinner.—Ladyes Dictionary, 1694.

" *Cupée*—Is a pinner that hangs close to the head. *ib.*

" *Frelan*—Bonnet and pinner together.

" *Fontange*—The top-knot, so called from Mademoiselle de Fontange, one of the French king's mistresses, who first wore it.

" *Favorites*—Locks dangling on the temples.

" *Monté la haut*—Certain degrees of wire to raise the dress.

" *Palisade*—A wire sustaining the hair next the dutchess, or first knot.

" *Sorti*—A little knot of small ribbon, peeping out between the pinner and bonnet.

"The Ladies Dictionary," 1694, under the article "Apparel," gives a full explanation of these names. At the end of which are the following words. "Thus much for the *dress*, but there are yet other things necessary for a *ladies*

"*Flandan*—A kind of pinner joining with the bonnet.
"*Buorgoigne*—The first part of the dress for the head next the hair.
"*Jardinée*—That single pinner next the burgoigne.
"*Cornet*—The upper pinner, dangling about the cheeks like hound's ears.
"*Frilal*—
"*Rayonnée*—Upper hood, pinned in circle, like the sun-beams.
"*Choux*—The great round boss or bundle resembling a cabbage.
"*Cruches*—Certain small curles placed on the forehead.
"*Confidants*—Smaller curles near the eares.
"*Passagere*—A curled lock next the temples.
"*Berger*—A small lock (a la sheperdesse) turned up with a puff.
"*Tour*—An artificial dress of hair on the forehead, &c.
"*Meurtriers*—Murderers, a certain knot in the hair, which ties and unite the curls.
"*Creve-cœur*—Heart-breakers, the two small curled locks at the nape of the neck.

To which a few other words from the "Fop's Dictionary" may be added.

"*Mouches*—Flies, or black patches by the vulgar.
"*Firmanent*—Diamonds or other precious stones heading the pins, which they stick in the tour or hair like stars.
"*Ruffles*—By our forefathers called cuffs.
"*Duchess*—A knot next the hair, immediately above the tour, &c.
"*Commode*—A frame of wire covered with silk, on which the whole head attire is adjusted at once upon a bust; or properly of wood carved to the breast, like that which perruque-makers set upon their stalls.*
"*Mouchoire*—It were rude, vulgar, and unseemly to call it handkerchief.
"*Engageants*—Deep double ruffles hanging down to the wrists.
"*Echelles*—A pectoral, or stomacher, laced with ribbon like the rounds of a ladder."

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* In the "Ladies Dictionary," 1694, it is thus explained; "A frame of wire, two or three stories high, fitted for the head, or covered with tiffany, or other thin silks; being now completed into the whole head-dress."
In the early French dictionaries, we meet with the word *Commode* as applied to the head-dress, from which it appears to have been out of fashion before 1761, as "Le Grand Dictionaire Français et Flamand," says, "sorte de coiffure de femme, que *n'est plus en usage.*"

dressing room; which have such odd names, that a *raw lass* being entertain'd in service, and hearing her mistress one day call for some of them, she was so far from bringing any, that she verily took her to be *conjuring*, and hastily ran out of the house, for fear she should raise the devil."

Again in page 425:

"'Twould make a dog split his halter to hear the learned cant between the mistress and maid, when about the important affair of adjusting her ladyship's *array* on a morning; you'd swear they were conjuring, they sputter out such a confus'd jargon of hard words, such a hotch-potch of mongrel gibberish: 'Bring me my *palisade* there,' quoth madam: you'd think she were going to encamp. 'Will it not be convenient to attack your *flandan* first?' says the maid. More anger yet? still military terms? 'Let me see,' says Madam, 'where's my *cornet*? Pray *carine* this *favourite*:' so, so, good words; now there's some hopes of peace, till the blustering *Frilan* and *Burgoign* are called for, and then the old catterwawling begins again? There is a clack of *settees, passes, monté la hauts, crotches*, and other trinkums, would make a man suspect they are raising the devil: at last comes the *sur les fronts*, and then Madam is completely harnessed for the play," &c.

In "Le Theatre Italien," (by Gherardi) in a satire upon the number of French names of fashions, there is a list of books, describing the "Bibliothèque des sots,—Dictionaire in folio, qui contient les principales pièces qui composent la coeffure d'une femme."

One of the most fantastic fashions, which began previous to the year 1683, was the *fontange*, which is explained in "La Dictionaire de l'Academie Françoise," 1787. "Nœud de rubans que les femmes portent sur leur coiffure, et qui tire son nom de Madame de Fontange."

Specimens of them are chiefly to be found in prints, but very rarely in those taken from family portraits. I have not met with any except in two prints of Mary II. One is a large engraving very highly finished, the head-dress covered with rich lace mixed with several pieces of striped ribbons. The other is a smaller print (by *G. Valck*,) with a lofty head-dress. There was lately to be seen a specimen of the fontange in Westminster Abbey, among the wax-work, commonly called the *ragged regiment*. The following quotation

from the Athenian Oracle, may explain why the fontanges or top-knots are rarely to be found in family portraits.

"*Question* ?—Whether *top-knots* are not unlawful? at least very inconvenient, considering their trouble in riding, &c. and not very graceful neither; for there are few ladies, as well as they love them, who care to have their pictures drawn with them.

"*Answer.*—There will be work enough about them shortly, whereof we shall perhaps trouble the world with an advertisement, and therefore we'll not forestall the market, but leave the ladies themselves to plead their own *dearly beloveds.*"

In the Ladies' Dictionary, under the article "Topknot," is a dialogue between *Nature* and a *Lady.* The Lady says, "In what array did the Dauphiness appear last ball? I am told, my *commode* is a tire too low, as they adjust it at the French Court."

"*Nature.*—Am I a-dreamed, or has the multitude of years impaired my sight and judgment? The voice is woman's, but in the *prating figure,* I want a name; I see a moving pyramid of gayeties, a walking toyshop, a speaking gallimaufry of ribbons, laces, silk, and jewels, as if some upstart mimick Nature had been at work on purpose to upbraid my skill, and tell me, that in forming woman, I have left out the essentials," &c. &c. Again, speaking of the Lady's head-dress, "Do regard her rigging above deck, and you'd swear she carries Bow steeple upon her head, or the famous tower of Severus in Rome, in which was built seven ranks of pillars one above another. Such a lofty gradation of topknots, if it proceeds, will befriend the carpenters and bricklayers, for our gentry and tradesmen in time will be forced to pull down their low-pitch'd houses, and take the height of the stories in the next structure from the elevated pageant of trinkets on their wives' and daughters' heads, lest these fine trappings should be kidnapp'd from their empty noddles by an unmannerly brush of the saucy ceilings," &c. &c. The Lady says, "I am resolved to be in the mode, though it should put me to the charge of maintaining a negro to support the *monumental umbrella* on my head."

There is a work which contains several engravings of the coronation of James II. in 1685; and at the end, a single plate (in the Blickling Library) of the coronation of William and Mary in 1689, representing several ladies, but not

one with a *fontange*, a dress probably considered too absurd and fantastic for so solemn a ceremony.

The following extracts from "Le Theatre Italien di Gherardi," a collection of French plays composed between 1682 and 1697, allude to this style of dress.

"Moi! que je demeure d'avantage dans Paris, dans ce tripot eternel, ou les femmes sont des ripopés de jeu et de coquetterie? Et comment y feroit-il sûr pour les hommes, quand les oiseaux sont a peine en sûreté dans l'air, contre les attentats des coîffures des femmes." Vol. ii. 313.—Again,

"*Mezz.*—Comment nommez-vous ces obelisques que les femmes d'ici ont sur leurs tetes?

"*M. Gr.*—Elles appelent cela des palissades," &c. (Vol. ii. 341.)

In the play "La Fille Savante," Isabella dresses herself as a "capitaine d'infanterie," says "O ça, de bonne foi, mon pere, ne conviendrez vous pas qu'un chapeau retroussé me coîffe infiniment mieux, qu'un attirail impertinent de rubans et de cornettes? qu'une plume a toute autre grace que les montagnes de rayons qui allongent la taille des femmes?" Vol. iii. 70.

"*Le Comte.*—Je veux qu'elle soit propre, mais je ne veux pas qu'elle soit etalée comme la maitresse d'un vieux abbé. Je consens qu'elle soit coîffée avec des pallisades et des rayons; mais je ne veux pas qu'elle se coîffe aussi haut qu'une marchande de la foire." Vol. v. 218.

Page 227 speaks of "une coîffure à triple étage rend d'une taille gigantesque," &c.

The *fontange* was frequently condemned by the clergy. In one of the sermons (on several occasions) by John Edwards, 1698, is the following passage:

"This is the daring pride which reigns among our very ordinary women at this day, they think themselves highly advanced by this climbing foretop. All their rigging is nothing worth without this wagging topsail; and, in defiance of our Saviour's words, endeavour, as it were, to add *a cubit* to their stature. With their exalted heads they do, as it were, attempt a superiority over mankind; nay, these Babel-builders seem with their lofty towers to threaten the skies, and even to defy heaven itself." In another place in the same discourse, the author gives the ladies the following caution, that "especially upon days of fasting and humiliation you would wholly lay aside your gawdy dress. It is

fitting at such a time that you should lower your topsails, and strike your flags."

Horace Walpole mentions, that about the year 1714, Louis XIV. admired the superior taste of the low head-dress of two English ladies; in consequence of which, the ladies of his court immediately began to adopt the new form. But it appears by the following quotation from "A Supplement to the first part of the Gentlemen Instructed, with a word to the Ladies, 1708," that the change in the lofty head-dress was begun before 1714.

"The received fresh advice that the French King had forbid the wearing of gold lace, and that all below a countess lay under a prohibition; that he had clipt commodes, and taken the sex a story lower; that the Dutchess of *Burgundy* immediately undrest, and appeared in a *fontange* of the new standard; that his Majesty had a design against topknots," &c.

Again, in p. 38, the writer shows how a fine lady spends her time at her toilet: "And now her ladyship brandishes the combs, and the powders raise clouds in the apartment. She trims up the *commode*; she places it ten times; unplaces it as often, without being so fortunate as to hit upon ye critical point; she models it to all systems, but is pleased with none. For you must know, some ladies fancy a vertical, others an horizontal situation; others dress by ye northern latitude, and others lower its point to forty-five degrees," &c.

Page 108 mentions how much better the ladies might employ their time. "At *Paris*, I have seen the topping ladies of the court, in *l'Hotel Dieu*, help and comfort the sick with great charity. They refresh'd those poor creatures not only with words, but with cordials and julips. I could wish the *mode* would sail into *England*. It edifies, I am sure, and would become quality, and sit as gentilely on ladies as *French fontanges*."

There is a whole paper in the Spectator (No. 98), 1711, which relates entirely to the female head-dress, too well known to require insertion, but it seems to point out the date of the lofty *head-dress*. "About ten years ago (*i. e.* in 1701) it shot up to a great height," &c. &c. "I remember several ladies who were once near seven foot high, that at present want some inches of five," &c.[d]

[d] A paper in the Spectator says of Paradin's History of Lyons, that it mentioned the *Fontange*. This is an anachronism, as the history was published nearly a century before Madame Fontange was born.

A similar observation occurs in the " Lettres Persanes," 1717. " Quelquefois les coeffures montent insensiblement, et une revolution les fait descendre tout à coup. Il a été un tems que leur hauteur immense mettoit le visage d'une femme au milieu d'elle-même ; dans un autre, c'étoit les pieds qui occupoient cette place, les talons faisoient un piedestal qui les tenoit en l'air. Qui pourroit le croire ? Les Architectes ont été souvent obligés de hausser, de baisser et d'elargir les portes, selon que les parures des femmes exigeoient d'eux ce changement, et les régles de leur art ont été asservies a ces fantaisies."

Addison (who died in 1719) thus mentions the *Fontange*, " Those old Fontanges rose an ell above the head. They were pointed like steeples, and had the long loose pieces of crape, which were fringed and hung down their backs." —(Johnson's Dictionary.)

During the reigns of William III. and Anne, we find that ladies sometimes wore plumes of feathers piled up in stages. There is a good specimen in a print of Lady Mary Radcliffe, who is represented with two tiers of ostrich feathers with a tuft above. (Pl. IX. fig. 21.)

In an additional volume of the Spectator (No. 20), dated 1715, this fashion of wearing a quantity of feathers is satirized :

" I pretend not to draw the single *quill* against that immense crop of *plumes*, which is already risen to an amazing height, and unless timely sing'd by the bright eyes that glitter underneath, will shortly be able to overshadow them. Lady *Porcupine's* commode is started at least a *foot and a half* since Sunday last," &c. Again, " In what condition the *feather manufacture* now stands, shall be inquired at leisure."—" But so long as the commodity circulates, and the outside of a fine lady's *head* is converted into the inside of her *pillow*, or if fate so order it, to the top of her *herse*, there is no harm in the consumption ; and both the *milliner*, *upholsterer*, and *undertaker* may live in an amical correspondence, and mutual dependence on each other."

In the periodical papers of the middle of the last century, there are many observations made on the fashions of ladies' head-dresses, a few of which I have copied as illustrative of the subject and of the sketches accompanying these remarks.

In the *World*, (a periodical paper, 1753) there is a letter condemning the

ladies for wearing their *hats* in the church during divine service, as transgressing against the laws of decency and decorum.[e]

In the same work, (No. 39) is a letter which describes the bad taste of a lady who has "a most disconsolate length of face, which she makes absolutely frightful by wearing the poke of her cap quite back to her pole."

No. 66, speaks of caps from the size of a China plate having dwindled away to the breadth of a half-crown, and then entirely vanished.—Again,

In No. 88, "They wear no cap, and only substitute in its room "variety of trumpery ribbands, tied up with no other propriety than the present fit shall happen to direct."

The Connoisseur, No. 36, (1754) mentions that "of all the branches of female dress no one has undergone more alterations than that of the head. The long lappets, the *horse-shoe cap*, (see Pl. X.) the *Brussels-head*, and the prudish *mob* pinned under the chin, have all of them had their day. The present mode has rooted out all these superfluous excrescences, and in the room of a slip of cambrick or lace, has planted a whimsical sprig of spangles or artificial flowrets, &c." And again, "If the caps have passed through many metamorphoses, no less a change has been brought about in the other coverings contrived for the head. The diminutive high-crowned hat, the bonnet, the hive, and the milk-maid chip-hat, were rescued for a time from old women and servant girls, to adorn the heads of the first fashion. Nor was the method of cocking hats less fluctuating, till they were at length

[e] This is a strange contradiction to the rule so universally allowed from the earliest times of the Apostles, of the propriety of women being covered in the churches, an allusion to which we find in Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church, (vol. v. 267). that the men "prayed with the head uncovered, according to the Apostles' direction, as esteeming it a great indecency to do otherwise." "Tertullian adds another reason in his Apology to the Gentiles. We pray uncovered, because we are not ashamed to appear with open faces; making a sort of testimony and symbol of their innocency in their addressing God without covering. On the other hand, as both nature and custom had made it decent for *women* to be covered, so they were precise in requiring this to be observed, especially in religious assemblies," &c.

Again—In the arraignment of Anne Turner, at the King's Bench, in 1615, on the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, "The Lord Chief Justice told her that women must be covered in the church, but not when they are arraigned, and so caused her to put off her hat; which done, she covered her hair with her handkerchief, being before dressed in her hair, and her hat over it."

settled to the present mode; by which it is ordered, that every hat, whether of straw or silk, whether of the chambermaid or mistress, must have their flaps turned up perpendicularly both before and behind (see Pl. X.) If the end of a fine lady's dress was not rather ornamental than useful, we should think it a little odd, that hats, which seem naturally intended to screen their faces from the heat or severity of the weather, should be moulded into a shape that prevents their answering either of these purposes: but we must, indeed, allow it to be highly ornamental, as the present hats worn by the women are more bold and impudent than the broad-brimmed staring *Kevenhullers* worn a few years ago by the men. These hats are also decorated with two waving pendants of ribband, hanging down from the brim on the left side," &c.

No. 77, mentions a female wearing "*a hat smartly cocked up behind and before* in Broad Saint Giles," &c. (see Pl. X.)

No. 112 is a letter, describing the fashion of a lady's head-dress in 1756, "that instead of a cap, the present mode is for every female to load her head with some kind of carriage," &c. Again, "The curiosity I had of knowing the purport of this invention, and the general name of these machines, led me to make enquiry about them of a fashionable milliner, at the court end of the town. She obliges me with a sight of one of these equipages, designed for the head of a lady of quality, which I surveyed with much admiration, and placing it on the palm of my hand, could not help fancying myself *Gulliver* taking up the Empress of *Lilliput* in her state-coach. The vehicle itself was constructed of gold threads, and was drawn by six dapple greys of blown glass, with a coachman, postillion, and gentleman within, of the same brittle manufacture," &c.

The milliners called them *cabrioles* or *caprioles*—"a polite female would no more fix her affections on a man who drives but a beggarly pair, than she would be contented with being tumbled down to his country seat, like Punch's wife to *Rumford*, in a wheelbarrow."

There is a poem called a "Modern Morning." Celia says to her maid,

> "Nelly! where is the creature fled?
> Put my *post-chaise* upon my head."
> "Your chair and chairman, Mame, is brought," &c.

The same poem speaks of ladies wearing the *broad-wheel'd waggon* as an improvement to the above fashion (see Pl. X.)[f]

In a note, "*Post-chaise*—Be it remembered, that in the year 1756, many ladies of fortune and fashion, willing to set an example of prudence and economy to their inferiors, did invent, and make public, without a patent, a machine for the head, in form of a *post-chaise and horses.* And another imitating a *chair and chairman*, which were frequently worn by people of distinction. I have been more particular in noting the exact time of the rise of this invention, first, because no foreigner should attempt to rob us of the honour of it, and secondly, that it may serve as an æra or epocha to future chronologers."[g]

Bulwer, in his "Artificial Changling," has given us a curious wood-cut of a lady wearing a variety of *patches*, one of which is the form of a carriage and horses (see Pl. IX. fig. 11). From the various passages of early writers relating to patches, a few quotations may be deemed worthy of notice. The following is from the Ladies' Dictionary, p. 362.

"They had no doubt got a room in the *Chronicles* among the prodigious and monstrous births, had they been born with *moons*, *stars*, *crosses*, *lozenges*, upon their cheeks; especially had they brought into the world with them a *coach and horses.*"

In "Wit Restored," 1658. is a poem, entitled, "The Bursse of Reformation."

"Her patches are of every cut,
For pimples and for scarrs,
Here's all the wandring planett signes,
And some o' th' fixed starrs,
Already gum'd to make them stick,
They need no other sky,
Nor starrs for *Lilly* for to veiw
To tell your fortunes by," &c.

The "Memoires et Observations, &c. en Angleterre," 1698, mention

[f] The sketches at the bottom of Plate X. (one head excepted) are taken from the drawings of my late father, who was a great observer of the fashions of his time.

[g] Wise Men's Wonderful Discoveries.

" L'usage des *Mouches* n'est pas inconnu aux Dames de France, mais il faut être jeune et jolie. En Angleterre, jeunes, vieilles, belles, laides, tout est *emmouché* jusqu' à la decrepitude; j'ai plusieurs fois compté quinze mouches et davantage, sur la noire et ridée face d'une vieille de soixante et dix ans. Les Angloises raffinent ainsi sur nos modes."

The "Lettres Persanes," 1717, says,

" Le role d'un jolie femme est beaucoup plus grave que l'on ne pense; il n'y a rien de plus serieux que ce qui se passe le matin à sa toilette, au milieu de ses domestiques; un General d'Armée n'emploie pas plus d'attention à placer sa droite, ou son corps de reserve, qu'elle en met à placer une *mouche* qui peut manquer; mais dont elle espére ou prévoit le succés."

In the Spectator, No. 323, is a Journal of a Lady.

" From 8 to 9, shifted a patch for half an hour before I could determine it. Fixed it above my left eye-brow."

Again, in No. 81, is an account of ladies being divided into parties, as Whigs and Tories, by the wearing of patches, those spotted on the right side of the forehead being distinguished from those who placed them on the left.

Who has ever heard of *white* patches on a black face, as thus described in Lovelace's " Posthumous Poems," 1650.

" But as a Moor, who to her cheeks prefers
White spots t' allure her black idolaters,
Methought she look'd all o'er bepatch'd with stars."

The Spectator mentions that patches were worn by men; this is also mentioned by Gherardi in the following lines.

" Que les jeunes gens de bel air sont par les plaisirs, par les mines, par les promenades, par les *mouches*, et par les manières, moins hommes que femmes." vol. vi. 322.

The Athenian Mercury, (1693) by John Dunton, speaks of a " whole *box-full* of *half-moons* and *lozenges*."

The following is from the London Chronicle for 1762, (vol. xi. 167) on the History of Fashions.

" *The French Night-cap.*—Our fine women have by covering their cheeks by this fashion, put their faces into an eclipse. Each lady, when dressed in this mode, can only peep under the lace border. Perhaps, they are intended like

blinds to a horse's head harness, to teach ladies to look forward. A good hint, however. It has been whispered, indeed, that this mode is an introduction to Popery, it is to bring in the veil by and by, a sort of trial to see how our English Toasts will take it.

" Some ill-natured persons, indeed, go so far as to say, that every woman who wears these visage-covers, has done something she should be a little ashamed of, and, therefore, don't care to shew much of her face.

" *The Ranelagh Mob;* or the *Hood* from Low Life.

" This is a piece of gauze, minionett, catgutt, or Leicester webb, &c. which is clouted about the head, then crossed under the chin, and brought back to fasten behind, the two ends hanging down like a pair of pigeon's tails.

" This fashion is copied from the silk handkerchiefs, which market women tie over their ears, roll about their throats, and then pin up the nape of their necks.

" They were first wore in the Inner Square of Covent Garden Market, among the green-stalls; it was from thence introduced into the outward squares or piazza's, among the stalls there.

" Mrs. Douglas (of procuring memory) who was a very great market-woman in her way, was the first who made a Scotch-lawn double neckhandkerchief into the mob abovementioned. Her female boarders would do as the mistress did, to be sure, and after a little cut and contrivance, away they whisked in them to Ranelagh.

" The ladies of fashion there, who sometimes dress almost like ladies of the town, immediately took the hint. The fashion flew abroad upon the wings of whim, and, as Schioppius observes, instantly spread itself over the face of the land.

" *The Mary Queen of Scots' Cap* (Pl. VIII. fig. 15), edged down the face with French beads, was very becoming to some complexions; but as the cap was made of black gauze, and saved washing, it has too much housewifery in it, ever to be immense taste.

" *The Fly Cap.*—This is fixed upon the forehead, forming the figure of an overgrown butterfly, resting upon its head, with outstretched wings; 'tis much worn at present, not that it either adds to the colour or outlines of the face; but, as their caps are edged with garnets, topazes, or brilliants, they are very

sparkling, and a side-box-appearance is not now altogether the consultation of elegance, but ornament.

" Therefore, those ladies who make the most show, are looked upon to be the finest women.

" It is become a very interesting dispute among the connoiseurs in general, whether the present turban roll, which is now wore round the Mecklenburgh caps, was taken from the Ægyptian fillet, the Persian tiara, or Wreath round the eldest Faustina's temples?"

Goldsmith, describing his "Cousin Hannah" (aged 66), says that "her cap, if cap it might be called that cap was none, consisted of a few bits of cambric, and flowers of painted paper, stuck on one side of the head."

The fear of having trespassed too much upon the patience of the Society, makes me unwilling to extend my observations to the various fashions of dressing the hair; yet a few quotations may not be deemed unworthy of notice by those who have so far favoured me as to bestow their time upon the foregoing observations; for, however curious it may be to trace the various fancies and fashions of our ancestors in the invention of the head-dress, the disposal of that ornament which has been bestowed by nature upon the fair sex, must always be of more interest than the artificial adornment which can be constructed by human invention. I begin with the reign of Henry VII. On viewing the various pictures of head dresses of that date, and during the greater part of the reign of Henry VIII., it appears that the hair was hardly visible, or, if seen, it was parted on the forehead and uncurled; this fashion continued as late as the end of Henry VIII., as worn by Catharine Parr (see Pl. VII. fig. 24).

In the reign of Mary, the hair was still parted, but was arranged in a different manner (see her portrait in fig. 52,) and this continued till as late as the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, (see specimens in Pl. VIII. figs. 9, 11 & 15,) but before the end of her reign, the hair was made to stick up and curled, and sometimes formed into a circle or an oval (see Pl. VIII. figs. 3, 4, 10, 12, 20, 31 & 32). This bad taste continued during the whole reign of James I. Figs. 21 and 22 are head-dresses, as worn in Italy.[h]

[h] Even the whole dress worn in the *beginning* of Elizabeth's reign was superior in taste to that of James I. Fig. 12, from Fox's Book of Martyrs, may be compared with fig. 13, from a print in Roland Furieux, 1619.

But soon after that period, and during a great part of the reign of Charles I. the hair was arranged with better taste, consisting of many small curls, hanging down on each side of the face, combed from the forehead and braided into a knot at the back of the head, which knot was frequently ornamented with jewels and pearls; and sometimes a black or a white feather was placed to hang down on one side (Pl. VIII. fig. 15); it is likewise to be seen in the portraits of Dorothy Countess of Suffolk, M. Countess of Essex, and as late as 1656, by Beatrix de Cusance; but soon after, and during the reigns of Charles II. and James II. the hair was made either to hang in long curls resembling corkscrews, or with long locks flowing down below the shoulders as in fig. 16 and 18; or it was cut short, and curled in rich clusters, as in fig. 17.

Among several religious plays, one of the most remarkable is "The Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalen," 1567, from whence is taken the following quotation relating to her head-dress.

> "Your haire, me thynke, is as yellow as any gold;
> Upon your face layd about have it I wold;
> Sometime on your forehead the breadth of a hand;
> Sometime let your attire upon your crowne stand,
> That all your haire for the most part may be in sight.
> To many a man a fayre haire is a great delight.
> In summer time now and then to keep away flies,
> Let none of that fayre haire hang in your eies.
> With a hotte nedle you shall learne it to crispe,
> That it may curle together in manner like a wispe."[i]

Stubbes makes the following complaint of the female hair as worn in 1585: —"Then follow the trimming and tricking of their heades, in laying out their haire to shewe, which of force must be curled, frisled, and crisped, laid out (a world to see) on wreathes and borders, from one ear to the other. And least it should fall down, it is underpropped with forks, wiers, and I cannot tell what, like grim sterne monsters, rather than chaste Christian matrones. Then on the edges of their boulstred haire, (for it standeth crested rounde about their frontiers, and hanging over their faces like pendices or vailes, with glass windowes on every side,) there is laid great wreathes of golde and silver curiously wrought, and cunningly applied to the temple of their heades. And for feare

[i] Collier's Annals, vol. ii. 243.

of lacking any thinge to set forth their pride withall, at their haire thus wreathed and crested, are hanged *bugles* (I dare not say *bables*), *ouches, rynges, gold, silver, glasses*, and such other childishe gewgawes," &c.

Many readers have heard of Prynne's curious work entitled "The Unlovelinesse of Love-lockes," 1628, but few have seen the book itself, and very few, I believe, have had the patience to read it through. It is a long, dull, prosy work. He speaks of the "womanish, sinfull, and unmanly crisping, curling, frouncing, powdering, and nourishing of their locks and hairie excrements;" and again, "to frizle, powder, nourish, and set out our haire and lockes in the most lascivious, amorous, proud, effeminate, ruffianly, and vainglorious manner, &c.; or to hear the illiberal abuse against the fair sex for cutting off their hair, as audacious, brazen-faced, shamelesse (if not unchaste and whorish) English hermaphrodites, or man-women monsters, whose prodigious and blushlesse impudency bids battle and defiance unto Heaven itselfe, and dares the Lord to smite or to controule them."

The love-lock was a single lock hanging on one side, and sometimes ornamented by a ribbon, as in the portrait of the Duchess of Richmond by Vandyck. The Lady E. Shirley has a long braided lock on one side, and ornamented with pearls twisted round.

The poets in their writings give the preference to the female hair when allowed to flow naturally, as in the following quotations.

The first from Chalkhill's Thealma and Clearchus.[k]

———"her loose haire
Hung on her shoulders sporting with the air,
Her brow a coronet of rose-buds crown'd,
With loving woodbine's sweet embraces bound,
Two globe-like pearls were pendents to her ears,
And on her breast a costly gem she wears."

Even braiding the hair seems to be condemned, as from the following passage in Lovelace's Lucasta (printed in 1649).

"Amarantha, sweet and fair,
Oh, braid no more that shining hair!
* * * *
* * * *

[k] Published by Isaak Walton.

" Let it fly as unconfined
As its calm ravisher, the wind,
Who has left his darling th' east
To wanton o'er that spicy nest.

" Ev'ry tress must be confest
But neatly tangled at the best;
Like a clue of golden thread,
Most excellently ravelled.

" Do not then wind up that light
In ribands, and o'er-cloud in night,
Like the sun in 's early ray,
But shake your head and scatter day."

Hamilton, in his Memoirs of the Count de Grammont, has given a spirited account of his sister. " Her forehead was open, white, and smooth; her hair was well set, and fell with ease in that natural order which is difficult to imitate."

The same author thus gives a description of a country wedding:—" The little that was seen of the bride's face appeared not without beauty; but no judgment could be formed of the remainder. Four dozen of patches, at least, and ten ringlets of hair on each side, most completely concealed her from all human eyes."

Lady W. Montague, describing in one of her letters the coronation of 1727, says, " the poor Duchess of M***se crept along with a dozen of black snakes playing round her face."

In former times a distinction appears to have been made between the head-dresses of married and single ladies, the latter being uncovered. On one side of the tomb in Hedingham church, four ladies are represented kneeling. Three of them have caps; two have the ring on the wedding finger, the third has the ring on the forefinger (see Pl. VII. fig. 4), but the fourth has no ring, and her hair hanging down, confined only by a fillet ornamented with jewels (see fig. 5).

In the ceremony of marriage in former days, the bride walked to church with her hair hanging loose behind. A plate in Walpole's Anecdotes of Paint-

ing represents the marriage of Henry VI., where not only the bride, but also the bride's-maid is seen with dishevelled hair. The hair of Ann Boleyn is likewise so described when she went to the altar with Henry VIII.

On the marriage of Carr, Earl of Somerset, with the daughter of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, "the bride was married in her hair, that is, with her hair hanging loosely down, as the Princess Elizabeth had been."

In the "*White Devil*, or *Vittoria Corombona*," by Webster, 1612—

"Come, come, my lord, untie your folded thoughts,
And let them dangle loose, as a *bride's hair*."

Anne of Cleves on the day of her marriage was "attired in cloth of gold embroidered with flowers in pearl, on her head a coronet of gold and precious stones, set full of branches of rosemary. Her long *yellow hair*, no longer confined by a caul, hung over her shoulders."—The Loseley MSS. edited by A. J. Kempe, Esq.

In former days, yellow hair was reckoned a great beauty; it is frequently mentioned by early writers, and still to be found in old paintings:

"The *her* schon upon her hed
As golde wyre that schynyth bryght."

Romaunce de Launfal.

Again:

——"Hur fayre faxe
That was yelowe as the waxe,
And schone also as gold redd."

Le Bone Florence of Rome.

From the reign of Charles II. to Queen Anne, a fine long head of hair was considered a great ornament to the female head, and frequently fetched a high price, and was often sold by women of inferior fortune, particularly at a time when perriwigs were worn by gentlemen of rank and wealth. It is said of the Countess of Suffolk, who married Mr. Howard in the reign of Queen Anne, "She and her husband were so poor, she was forced to sell her hair (to furnish a dinner for some friends). Long wigs were then in fashion, and her hair being fine, long, and fair, produced twenty pounds." Mirror, vol. xv. 192.

The enormous wigs of the beaux were a constant subject of ridicule to the writers of the day. Tom Brown, in his Letters from the Dead to the Living,

speaks of a person who complained against a weaver of hair for cheating him in a wig. He was recommended to the Chelmsford barber, who has nineteen unmarried daughters, who are virtuous girls, "besides, all the clergy round him are his customers, because he makes up their wigs without any mixture of other hair." This barber once in four years "mows the family round, never failing of a plentiful crop; much about this time, I reckon, his harvest is ripe, and all the neighbouring gentlemen are flocking to bespeak their perriwigs; some are fair girls, some brown, some black, so that he can mix up a colour to suit any complexion." (Vol. ii. 176-8.)

Even in the time of Queen Anne[1] and George I. wigs were considered of some value, and liable to be stolen. Gay, in his Trivia, gives the following warning concerning them:—

"Nor is the flaxen wig with safety worn;
High on the shoulder, in a basket born,
Lurks the sly boy, whose hands to rapine bred,
Plucks off the curling honours of thy head."

But perriwigs were not worn by gentlemen alone, for they had long before

[1] The following quotation gives a curious specimen of a fine gentleman in the time of Queen Anne, from "The Levellers, a Dialogue between two young Ladies, concerning Matrimony," edit. 1703. Harl. Misc. vol. xi.—"They (the men) sit in monstrous long perukes, like so many owls in ivy-bushes; and esteem themselves more upon the reputation of being a beau, than on the substantial qualifications of honour, courage, learning, and judgment. If you heard them talk, you would think yourself at a gossipping at Dover, or that you heard the learned confabulation of the boys in the piazzas of Christ's Hospital. Did you ever see a creature more ridiculous than that stake of human nature which dined the other day at our house, with his *great long wig to cover his head and face*, which was no bigger than a Hackney-turnip, and much of the same form and shape? Bless me, how it looked! just like a great platter of French soup with a little bit of flesh in the middle. Did you mark the beau tiff of his wig, what a deal of pains he took to toss it back, when the very weight thereof was like to draw him from his seat? Did you not take notice how he replenished his snout with snuff, and what pains he took to let us know that it is Vigo? Did you not wonder at his learned discourse of the women's accoutrements, from the top-knot to the laced shoe; and what lectures he read on the fan, masque, and gloves? He understood ribbons and silk, as well as a milliner and mercer, and was a perfect chemist in beauty-washes and essences," &c.

In the additional volume of the Spectator (No. 20) 1715. We find "that Beau Hatchet made so wretched a figure about seven years ago, with his *three inches of face diameter*, under the intolerable *load of perriwig*, which was then imposed upon the necks of our people."

this period been used by ladies, as in a letter of Knollys to Cecil, published in Chalmers' Life of Mary Queen of Scots—

" So that now here are six waiting women, although none of reputation but Mistress Mary Seaton, who is praised by this Queen to be the finest *busker* that is to say, the finest dresser of a woman's head of hair, that is to be seen in any country ; whereof we have seen divers experiences since her coming hither, and among other prettie devices, yesterday, and this day, she did set a curled hair upon the Queen that was said to be a *perewyke*, that shewed very delicately ; and every other day she has a new device of head-dressing, without any cost, and yet setteth forth a woman gailie well."

This *perewyke* of Mary's I conceive to have been mere ringlets of false hair, for we know that it was the fashion of those days to wear borrowed locks, and of different colour. Mary's hair was black. Again, " Hentzner describes Queen Elizabeth that she wore *false hair*, and that *red*. The ladies *dyed* their hair of various colours, but particularly of a *sandy* colour, in compliment to the Queen, whose natural locks were of that tint." Heraldic Anomalies.[m]

The following quotation relates to the Masks and Revels (1 Edward VI.) ; among the articles we find,

" 8 coyffs of venys gold, wth th^{r} perukes of here hanging to them, & longe labells of coleryd lawne.

" 5 coyffs of venys golde with peruks of here." Loseley MSS. p. 77.

In the verses against the gentlewomen of Sicilia by Robert Green (ed. 1593),

> " Hair by birth as black as jet, what art can amend them ?
> A perriwig frounc'd fast to the front, or curl'd with a bodkin,
> Hats from France, thick pearled for pride, and plum'd like a peacock."

In the " Two Gentlemen of Verona," Act IV. s. 3.

> " Her hair is auburn, mine is perfect yellow ;
> If that be all the difference in his love,
> I 'll get me such a coloured perriwig."

[m] By a letter from Dr. John London to Cromwell, it appears that before the Reformation, images of saints were sometimes dressed up with *caps*, *wigs*, and other artificial ornaments.

" I have pullyd down the image of our Ladye of Caversham, whereunto wasse great pilgremage. The image ys platyd over with sylver, and I have putte it in a cheste," &c.—with her " cotes,"—" *her cappe and here.*"—Ellis's Letters, cxxix.

In the account of the revels in the reign of Elizabeth is mentioned "a perriwigg of heare for King Xerces' syster." See Collier's Annals of the Stage.

And W. Vaughan, in his "Golden Grove, Moralized in Three Books," (1600-1608,) speaks of hair-powder and perriwigs being worn by women, and that they "frizle and ley out their hayre in borders," &c.

From the following passage in the Diary of Samuel Pepys, it seems that in 1662 the custom of wearing perriwigs was again in vogue:

"By the by, comes La Belle Perce to see my wife, and to bring her a pair of *peruques* of hair, as the *fashion now is* for ladies to wear, which are pretty, and of my own wife's hair, or else I should not endure them."

Again, in 1665, "This day my wife begun to wear light-coloured locks, quite white almost, which, though it makes her look very pretty, yet not being natural, vexes me, that I will not have her wear them."

That perriwigs were worn by ladies as late as 1717, we find from one of Lady Suffolk's Letters:

"My brother is very much yours, and begs you will be so kind as to bespeak two periwigs for him, a degree or two lighter than mine, and something bigger in the head."

The author of "Plocacosmos" (1781) says, that soon after the year 1745 the "French curls made their first appearance in Paris, &c. They look like eggs strung in order on a wire, and tied round the head. At the same time appeared the French crape toupee, and also the strait, smooth, or English dress. All these the English made in false hair, from a notion of cleanliness, which they improved by being first averse to powder; but soon after they had all their hair drest in all the different fashions. Some time after came up the scallop-shell or Italian curls, done back from the face in their several shapes. The German were a mixture of scollop-shell and French in the front, curled all over behind, or *tête de mouton*."

The same author recommends that the ladies' hair "should never be combed at night, having almost always so bad an effect as to give a violent head-ache next day;" he also gives the ladies a caution about buying cheap hair, which is made by mixing up with old hair, which perhaps has been upon twenty different people's heads, either as old braids, men's old false tails, or the old tails

of gentlemen's wigs, which people are daily buying up whenever they are found."

One of the most detestable of fashions was the introduction of Hair-Powder. We all know that white powder was formerly worn. The above author mentions hair powder of various colours, and gives receipts for making yellow, rose, pink, and also black powder.

Goldsmith's "Citizen of the World" mentions "blue powder and black powder for the hair, and a red powder for the face," &c.

The following quotation is a satire upon the wearing of powder, from "Wit Restored," 1658:—

"And at the devill's shop you buy,
A dress of powdered hayre,
On which your feathers flaunt and fly,
But i'de wish you have a care,
Lest Lucifer's selfe, who is not prouder,
Do one day dresse your haire with a powder," &c.

That the servant-maids aped their mistresses in the time of Charles II. is seen in the following quotation from "The Blind Lady," by Sir Robert Howard, 1650, (Act II. s. 2.)

"*Peter.* Why, *Mrs. Quinever*, sure you once had
Better opinion of me, though you now
Wash every day your best handkerchief
With yellow starch, and your laced quoiff,
Till it now hangs as if the devill
Had frighted you through quicksetts; not a post
But must be beaten for the rotten powder
To make your hair sit well," &c.

The ladies of the present day, who bestow so much time on their hair every night, will perhaps be astonished to find the uncleanly habits of the middle of the last century, as in "The World," a periodical paper (No. 158).

"I consent also to the present fashion of curling the hair, so that it may stand a month without combing; though I must confess (and I believe most husbands and lovers are of my opinion), that I think a fortnight or three weeks might be a sufficient time; but I bar any application to those foreign

artists, who advertize in the public papers that they have the secret of making up a lady's head for a complete quarter of a year."

In a periodical paper entitled "The Old Maid," 1756—(No. 16 and 17,) is a letter from a correspondent, describing his meeting a young lady to whom he "was impatient to present an ode written in honour of her lovely tresses, her hair being the finest that ever floated on a lovely neck, when he is shocked at beholding the object of his admiration transformed into 'old mother *Cybele*, the *Berecynthian* Goddess, with all her turrets on her head' One of the company, after admiring the crispness of her curls, asks how long her hair had been dressed? 'Three weeks last *Tuesday*,' replies Miss Fanny. 'Three weeks, Madam,' said I, 'ha'n't you been a'bed since that?' 'Regularly every *day*.'—'Pray, Madam, don't that lay you under the necessity of dressing your hair every *evening* when you rise?'—'Oh Lord, Sir,' says Miss, smiling at my ignorance, 'a head properly *made up*, with pins, paste, and pomatum, will *keep* a month very well.' As she talked of her head in the style of pickled pork, I ventured to ask her whether the paste and pomatum would *keep* as long?—'Certainly,' said she, 'if prepared with the *veritable eau de fleur des arbres*?'—'I suppose, Miss,' said I, 'this fashion is peculiar to the young ladies, as the married are more liable to have their locks discomposed.' 'Not at all,' says she, 'Lady *Lazy* dresses her hair but once a quarter; tis true we are enjoined to lie on one posture, which to be sure is an inconvenience; last night I went to bed somewhat earlier than usual, and was consequently restless, so happening to turn on one side, *deranged* the right wing a little, but *Betty* has *racommoded* it *passablement bien*.' 'I perceive, Madam,' said I, that a comb is a very unnecessary ornament on a modern toilette; and so retired full of indignation, with my poem in my pocket," &c.

"Her hair
Unty'd and ignorant of artful aid,
Adown her shoulders loosely lay display'd
And in the jetty curls ten thousand Cupids play'd."

"Thus I had engaged a band of Cupids in her service; but this poetical machinery is destroyed; for alas! the Cupids, who are plump chubby boys, could never penetrate her paste-works; and should they escape dashing out their brains against her perpetual curls, they must infallibly be transfixed,

as you have seen flies by school-boys, on those enormous pins, which rival her hairs in number."

The following is from one of Lady Suffolk's letters dated 1737: "Mrs. Floyd, to be sure, hath left off combing her head above once in a fortnight or three weeks. I beg she will leave off her *tête de mouton* and her *pannier*, till I can be *charmée* and *ravie* to see her."

I will no longer intrude upon the time of the Society, but will only add one more quotation, taken from "The Italian Taylor and his Boy," by R. Armin, 1609:

"Fooles make bookes for wise men to laugh at. I have known some, that have loved the writer for the worke, how ever weake; the *will pleaded so powerfully*; and the partie presenting it, had (at the least) thankes for his labour."

JOHN ADEY REPTON.

VI. *Account of the Old Bridge at Stratford-le-Bow in Essex, in a Letter from* Alfred Burges, *Esq. addressed to Sir* Henry Ellis, *K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 12th and 19th May, 1836.

23, Great George Street,
7th May, 1836.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to send you an account and some drawings of the celebrated Old Bridge at Stratford le-Bow, and I hope you will consider them of sufficient interest to be submitted to the Society of Antiquaries.

Since the paper was written, the greater part of the bridge has been taken down to give place to another of granite, of one arch, which is now in progress of erection under the direction of Mr. Walker and myself as engineers; and, should any further information respecting the Old Bridge be obtained during the progress of the work, I shall have great pleasure in transmitting it to you.

I have honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

ALFRED BURGES.

To Sir Henry Ellis, K.H.
F.R.S. Sec.

Bow Bridge, the subject of this inquiry, has been long celebrated as one of the most ancient, if indeed not the oldest, stone bridge in England. It is situated in the immediate neighbourhood of London, crossing the river Lea on the high road to Essex, at a distance not exceeding three miles from the centre of the metropolis.

It was erected in the early part of the eleventh century, under the auspices

of the pious Matilda, Queen-consort to King Henry the First, to form a more direct and safe communication between the metropolis and the county of Essex than the then existing passage across the river by the dangerous ferry at the Old Ford.

At the period of its erection, the Bridge was no doubt a structure of the plainest description of building and, like many such erections of former ages more to be admired for massive solidity, than for any architectural beauty of construction; but it is nevertheless interesting to the antiquary, as possessing the character of building that marked the first attempts of bridge-building in this country—such as large piers formed for the support of small and low-arched openings, and high battlements for the protection of a roadway of the narrowest possible dimensions.

Before commencing the history of the Bridge, it may not be considered altogether uninteresting to notice the line of communication anterior to its erection.

Most historians assign the first Roman colony founded in Britain to the county of Essex, and it is as universally allowed, that several stations and towns were early established in different parts of it; and consequently, at this early period, attention must have been directed to the formation of proper roads between them.

Without attempting a description of the roads made by the Romans in Essex, it will be sufficient for the present purpose to notice that which formed the direct communication with London.

It was the opinion of Dr. Stukeley, who wrote very largely upon the Roman remains in this country, that the Watling-street of the Romans from Chester to Dover, was crossed at Tyburn by another road from Chicester to Dunwich in Suffolk; this last road passing along Old-street, north of the city, continued forward to Colchester, &c. and is considered by that antiquary to be the high Essex road of the present day.

The same author also informs us, that "when the Romans enlarged the city, and inclosed it by a new wall, they also made a branch to proceed from St. Giles's, which is now called Holborn, built a gate at Newgate, and continued the road to Cheapside."

This last line of communication was continued east of the city; and Mait-

land, in his History of London, describes it to be the "Roman vicinal way through Aldgate by Bethnall Green to the trajectus or ferry at Old Ford," where it no doubt joined the Via Iceniana described by Dr. Stukeley.

From this it will appear that the great Roman road into Essex crossed the river Lea by means of a ferry at Old Ford, in which direction it continued for many centuries after the Romans left this island, or, in fact, until the erection of a bridge at Bow.

This road is noticed so early as the seventh century, when the body of St. Erkenwald was stopped at Ilford and Stratford by the flood, as it was being conveyed from the abbey of Barking, where he died, for interment in London; but upon this occasion the chronicles record the intervention of a miracle, by which a safe and easy passage was procured for the corpse of the holy man and its attendants.

As this event occurred about the year 685 (nearly 300 years after the Romans left Britain), it goes far to prove that the approaches to London from the county of Essex, continued for many centuries along the ancient roads formed by these conquerors, viz. by crossing the river Lea at Old Ford, where one branched to the south-west through Bethnall Green to Aldgate, as described by Maitland, and the other continued in a straight direction across Cambridge Heath to Old-street, according to Dr. Stukeley's statement, until the early part of the eleventh century, when a bridge was built over the river Lea at Bow, a short distance to the south of the ferry. The direction of the road was then turned, with a considerable curve, to the southward; the deviation commencing, no doubt, where the road now makes an angle between the fourth and fifth mile stone, or where the low marsh land meets the high ground, and continuing across the bridge until it joined the ancient road to Cheapside at Aldgate, in the line of the present principal approach to the city from the county of Essex.

Morant, in his History of Essex, has particularly noticed these roads, as also the circumstance which led to the erection of the bridge, in the following passage:

"The ancient road from this county to London was by Old Ford, that is, through the ford there without a bridge; but, that passage being difficult and dangerous, and many persons losing their lives, or being thoroughly wetted,

which happened to be the case of Maud, Queen-consort of King Henry I. she turned the road from Old Ford to the place where it now is, between Stratford-Bow, and West Ham, and caused also the bridges and causeway to be built and made at her own charge."

Stow has also recorded this event in his Annals; his account is in substance nearly the same as that already given, but being rather more in detail, it is here transcribed in the language of the curious old antiquary's work (edit. 1631, page 135).

After recording the death of Queen Matilda, he goes on to state that " Matilda when she saw the way to bee dangerous to them y^t^ travailed by the Old foord over the river of Lue (for she herselfe had beene well washed in the water) caused two stone bridges to be builded in a place one mile distant from the Old foord, of the which, one was situated over Lue at the head of the towne of Stratford, now called Bow, a rare peice of worke, for before the time the like had never beene seene in England. The other over the little brooke comonly called Chanelsebridge. Shee made the King's high-way of gravell betweene the two bridges. Moreover, shee gave manors and a mil comonly called Wiggon mil to the Abbesse of Barking, for the repairing of the bridges and high-way. But afterwards Gilbert de Mountfichet builded the abbey of Stratford in the Marshes, the abbot whereof, by giving a piece of money, purchased to himselfe the manors and mil aforesaid, and covenanted to repair the bridges and way, till at length hee laid the charge upon one Godfrey Prat, allowing him certaine loaves of bread daily, that he should repaire the bridges and way. Who being helpen by the ayde of travailers, did not only performe the charge, but also was a gainer to himselfe, which thing the abbot perceiving, he withholdeth from him part of the bread promised. Whereupon Godfrey demanded a toll of the wayfaring men, and to them that denied he stopped the way, till at length, wearied with toyle hee neglecteth his charge, whereof came the decay and ruine of the stone bridge and way."

This is nearly the whole that Stow has given us as connected with the Bridge, although some slight notice is taken of it when he speaks of the office of Bridge Master to the city of London. Stratford bridge, he observes, " being the first builded with arches of stone, was therefore called Stratford le Bow."

But in the account of this bridge as given by Mr. Lysons, we find reference

made to an inquisition taken on oath before Robert de Retford and Henry Springurnall, the King's justices in 1303 (31 Edw. I.), of which a more particular account will be given.

In this inquisition the early history of the bridge is set forth nearly as already stated, but with the following interesting additions, which form a continuation of the narrative from the period to which it is brought down by Stow in his Annals. By this document it appears that "Hugh Pratt," who, by the bye, Stow has named Godfrey Pratt, "living near the road and bridges, in the reign of King John, did of his own authority, begging the aid of passengers, keep them in repair. After his death, his son William did the same for some time, and afterwards, through the interest of Robert Passelew, the King's justice, obtained a toll," (which, according to the note attached to Morant's account of the bridge, was, for every cart carrying corn, wood, coal, &c. one penny, of one carrying tasel two pence, and of one carrying a dead Jew eight pence), "which enabled him to make an iron railing upon a certain bridge called Lock bridge, from which circumstance he changed his name from Pratt to Bridgewryght, and then were the bridges repaired, till Philip Burnet and the Abbot of Waltham, being hindered from passing that way with their waggons in the late reign, broke down the railing, whereby the said William being no longer able to repair it, left the bridge in ruins, in which state it remained till Queen Eleanor of her bounty ordered it to be repaired, committing the charge of it to William de Capella, keeper of her chapel. After which, one William de Charlton, yet living, repaired all the bridges with the effects of Bartholomew de Castello deceased."

The most ancient, and undoubtedly the most authentic account of the foundation of the bridges and causeway at Stratford, are to be found among the records preserved in the Chapter House at Westminster.

The records referred to give the detailed proceedings in the Court of King's Bench, in the sixth and eighth years of King Edward II., wherein the Abbot of Stratford, the Master of London Bridge, and the Master of St. Thomas of Acre, are charged with the repairs of the bridges and causeway at Stratford, as holding certain mills and other property, originally given by Queen Matilda to the Abbess of Barking, for their support and maintenance.

In these documents we follow the parties step by step to the final settle-

ment of the question, which was at last arranged by an agreement entered into between the Abbess of Barking and the Abbot of West Ham, the latter undertaking to repair the bridges for ever after, upon receiving a sum of money from the Abbess. The agreement here referred to will be found in the Appendix.

The pleadings of the 6th and 8th of Edward II. refer to former inquisitions taken in the 37th and 46th years of the reign of Henry III., and the 3rd year of the reign of Edward I. The following extracts particularly refer to the early history of the bridge.

"And from what is in the tenour of a certain inquisition in Chancery, concerning the bridge of Stratford, taken in the 37th year of the reign of King Henry, son of King John, grandfather of the present King (Edward II.) sent here before the King under his Seal of Chancery, it is found that the aforesaid lady, Matilda the Queen, assigned for the support of the aforesaid bridge of Stratford, a certain meadow, which the then Abbat of Stratford held, and that the said Abbat ought to repair the bridge, and always had taking by his bridge-master of certain customs for carts, and other things passing that bridge, and collected alms which the said bridge-master of the said Abbat received for the reparation of that bridge, as in the said inquisition more fully is contained," &c.

And in the 32d year of the reign of King Edward I., an inquisition was made before Roger le Brabazon and Stephen de Gravesende, by twelve jurors of the county of Essex, and twelve jurors of the county of Middlesex, who say upon their oath,

"That the passage over the water of the Luye at Stratford atte Bowe, anciently used to be in a certain place which is called the Old Forde, which is distant from the place where the bridges and causeway now are nearly one mile, at which passage many persons passing over it at divers times were drowned, and in great danger, and when after so much danger came to the knowledge of Lady Matilda, Queen of England, consort of Lord King Henry the First, she thereupon being moved with pity, sent for inquiry to be made where the bridges and causeway better and more advantageously might be made for the utility and easement of the county and those passing, and which being done, the same Queen caused to be built two bridges of stone, (to wit) one bridge over the water of Luye, at the end of the town of Stratford atte Bowe, and the other

over another channel of the same waters towards Essex, which is called Channelsebridge, and also one causeway to be made between the same bridges, so that persons passing by well and securely might pass. And because the same Queen willed that the bridges and causeway aforesaid, so of her free alms made, from thenceforth for ever should be supported and repaired, she purchased certain lands, rents, meadows, and one water mill, which is called Wiggen Mill, and appointed and ordained the same for the support and repair of the bridges and causeway aforesaid. And because she hoped that the support and repair of the same would be done better and more securely, by religious persons, if they were charged so to do, than by secular persons, least it should by chance happen that secular persons, they or their heirs, by lapse of time might fail; nor was there any religious house nearer to the bridges and causeway aforesaid, than the Abbey of Berking, because the Abbey of Stratford was not then founded; she gave the aforesaid lands, rents, meadows, and mill, with the appurtenances, to a certain person, then the Abbess, and her house of Berking, so that they and their successors, &c., should repair and sustain the said bridges and causeway as often as it should be necessary, for ever. And they say, that afterwards a certain Gilbert de Mountfichet founded the Abbey of Stratford, after the foundation of which a certain Abbat of that house obtained these tenements and the site of the Mills from a certain Abbess and Convent of Berking, because that they were near his Abbey of Stratford, and were lying and situated much to the advantage and easement of her house by doing, (to wit) that she and her successors, &c. the repairs and support of the bridges and causeway aforesaid, would do for the same Abbess and her successors, and her house of Berking, &c., and rendering to the same house besides four marks of silver yearly. And they say that the same Abbat for some time after repaired and supported the aforesaid bridges and causeway, by reason of the tenements and site of the mill aforesaid, and afterwards appointed a certain Godfrey Pratt, to repair and support the same in his name, and in the name of his house, and for this purpose delivered to him his horses and carts; and he built him a certain house upon that causeway, and a certain allowance was made to him from the Abbey of Stratford every day, taking the same by his deed, which same Godfrey did those repairs for a long time also, with the assistance for this purpose from cer-

tain persons there passing, although not oftentimes requested, who bestowed their alms and care for his assistance, so that in the same manner many goods he might have acquired, which when the same Abbat perceived, he said to the said Godfrey that he was able to do the repairs, &c., and support the same from such, his purchase being sufficient, without the gifts or any other aid for this purpose, to be taken or had for the Abbat aforesaid, and this bounty aforesaid he totally withdrew from him. Nevertheless the same Godfrey afterwards caused to be collected passage from many persons passing there, and put staples and bars upon the bridge, &c., and refused to permit carts or horsemen to pass until they had paid passage, unless they were nobility, whom through fear he permitted quietly to pass."

The remainder of these curious and interesting documents refer to the law proceedings occasioned by the refusal of the Abbot of Stratford to repair this great work of the pious Queen.

After many years spent in litigation, he at last acknowledged his liability; for in Easter Term, 9th Edward II., the Abbot of Stratford appeared in Court, and acknowledged his signature to the agreement with the Abbess of Barking before mentioned, wherein he undertook to keep in repair the two bridges and causeway at Stratford for ever after.

From this period to the dissolution of the monastery in the year 1539 (30 Henry VIII.) we do not find any attempt was made to throw off the responsibility; the bridges were no doubt during that period properly taken care of, and for some time after they fell into the hands of the Crown required but little repair, as we do not hear of any complaint being made till the year 1643, when they were again dilapidated.

In the course of this period, viz. from the dissolution to the year 1643, the lands and site of the monastery had been granted to Sir Peter Mewtis, who at the time was Ambassador from Henry to the Court of France, and from him they fell into the possession of various parties, who were at this time indicted for not keeping the bridges and causeway in repair. The question was tried in the King's Bench, when the defence set up by the defendants was, that the Abbot's lands had been discharged from the obligation by reason of their transition into and union with the Crown at the dissolution, but the Court found a verdict for the King.

The question was again agitated in the year 1663; but was not carried into court, the parties being informed that they could make no defence, as appears by a document in possession of the Abbey land-owners, of which the following is an extract: "So the counsel told us that they could not give us any other counsel than to tell us we should be overthrown in all our defences and suits, and be at last compelled to repair after we had spent all our money and time and travel: and if the repairs were not performed, then great fines could be levied upon those who were indicted now in the Crown office this Easter Term, 15 Charles II."

Although so many attempts had been made to throw off this burden with the like unsuccessful result, we again find the question agitated by the land owners in the year 1690, when it was again decided in favour of the Crown, the court being of opinion that all the lands of the Abbot were liable.

From that period to the present day the land-owners, profiting by the experience of the past, and not forgetting the wholesome advice of the honest lawyers of 1663, have contented themselves to abide by the exertions of their predecessors, and continued the charge of the bridge and causeway at Stratford for the free and uninterrupted use of the public as was originally intended by the royal founder.

The great Essex road connecting the metropolis with some of the most influential towns and sea-ports of the eastern district of the kingdom, and also passing to a considerable extent through a rich agricultural country, must rank among the important land communications of England.

That a wide and properly constructed road should be considered of the first importance to the public is not surprising, and with a view to make this road as perfect as any of its kind, many great improvements have been made from time to time at a large expense, some are at present in progress, and others under consideration; but the most important, and that to which attention has been most and longest directed, is the entrance into Essex, across the bridges of Queen Matilda, which are now found to be much too narrow for so great a thoroughfare, and to occasion considerable inconvenience and sometimes danger in passing them.

In the course of the endeavours of the trustees to accomplish this improvement (which had occupied several years), many difficulties presented themselves, and properly to arrange the different interests concerned was a work of much solicitude and care; but fortunately, these difficulties were at length overcome, and an Act was obtained during the last session of Parliament, empowering the trustees to rebuild Bow Bridge, and improve the others, and the public will soon be able to congratulate themselves on having a new Bow Bridge, with a road-way of as ample dimensions as Waterloo or Westminster Bridge, and that without any fear of toll being exacted from a would-be Abbot of Westham, or any one else.

Of the antiquity of Bow Bridge there can be little doubt, as we have proved from the best authorities that it was erected by order of Matilda, Queen of Henry the First, which must have been between the years 1100, when she became Queen, and 1118, the year of her death.

If any portion of the present structure can be identified as part of the original edifice, it may be considered, if not the oldest bridge extant, as at all events possessing an age which few other bridges in the kingdom can so satisfactorily trace, the long period of upwards of seven hundred years, and it must consequently be considered as a highly interesting work of antiquity.

In the construction of this Bridge, we find all that characterises the very early specimens of bridge architecture; the small openings for the water, and wide piers with large angular projections, not only to divide and throw off the force of the current, but for foot passengers to retire into to avoid the danger from carriages and horsemen when passing along the narrow roadway.

That the Bridge was originally built of stone can need no further confirmation; but the number of arches it originally consisted of is a question we have now no means of ascertaining, though, in all probability, it never had fewer openings than it has had in our day. Lysons indeed states it be a bridge of one arch, but he does not give his authority; neither have I met with any other writer who has favoured that opinion, or advanced one argument to lead to such a conclusion. That it had at any time more than the present number of arches is uncertain, unless it were furnished with small openings or archways at each end under the causeway for the passage of the land floods; but if there were such, they could not in fairness be considered as forming any part of the bridge. Of such arches, however, I have not been able to discover the slightest remains, either from the excavations made purposely to determine that point, or from any examinations of the bridge itself.

That the present pointed arches formed no part of the original construction of the bridge must be evident, as no other but a circular arch would have been used at that time; the pointed form of arch not having been introduced into the buildings of this country till many years after. The original arches therefore appear to have been removed, and may probably have given place to several forms of construction, each partaking of the fashion prevalent at the time of their erection.

It may also be observed that the form of the present arches is of that particular description which was last of all introduced into our architecture, and is commonly known as the Tudor Arch, from being found in most of the buildings erected in the reigns of the two last Henrys, or about the latter end of

the 15th century; and it may therefore fairly be stated, that the present arches cannot be older than the date assigned for the introduction of that species of arch, to which they are similar, but have in all probability been erected since that time, as is clearly the case with regard to the arch of the centre opening of the bridge.

Before closing this account of the Bridge, we are led to inquire into the origin of its name, and the circumstances which gave rise to its being called the Bow, or Bow-bridge. Most writers ascribe the derivation to the resemblance of the arch to the form of a bow, thence called *de Arcubus*, or the Bows. The description given by Stow, in his Annals, goes to state "the bridge was arched like a bowe, a rare piece of worke, for before that the like had never been seen in England;" and Grose observes, it might derive its appellation from the word *beau*, or handsome, an epithet very likely to be given to it in those days. The adjoining village of Stratford, on the London side of the Bridge, appears to have received the addition of the word atte Boghe, or atte Bowe, to its name, in consequence of the erection of this Bridge, and to distinguish it from a place of the same name on the opposite side of the river; it is now known by the name of Stratford-le-Bow, and is celebrated by Chaucer in his description of Dame Eglentine, the Prioress, as follows:

> "Frenche she spake full fayre and fetisly,
> after the scole of Stratford atte Bowe,
> for Frenche of Paris was to her unknow."

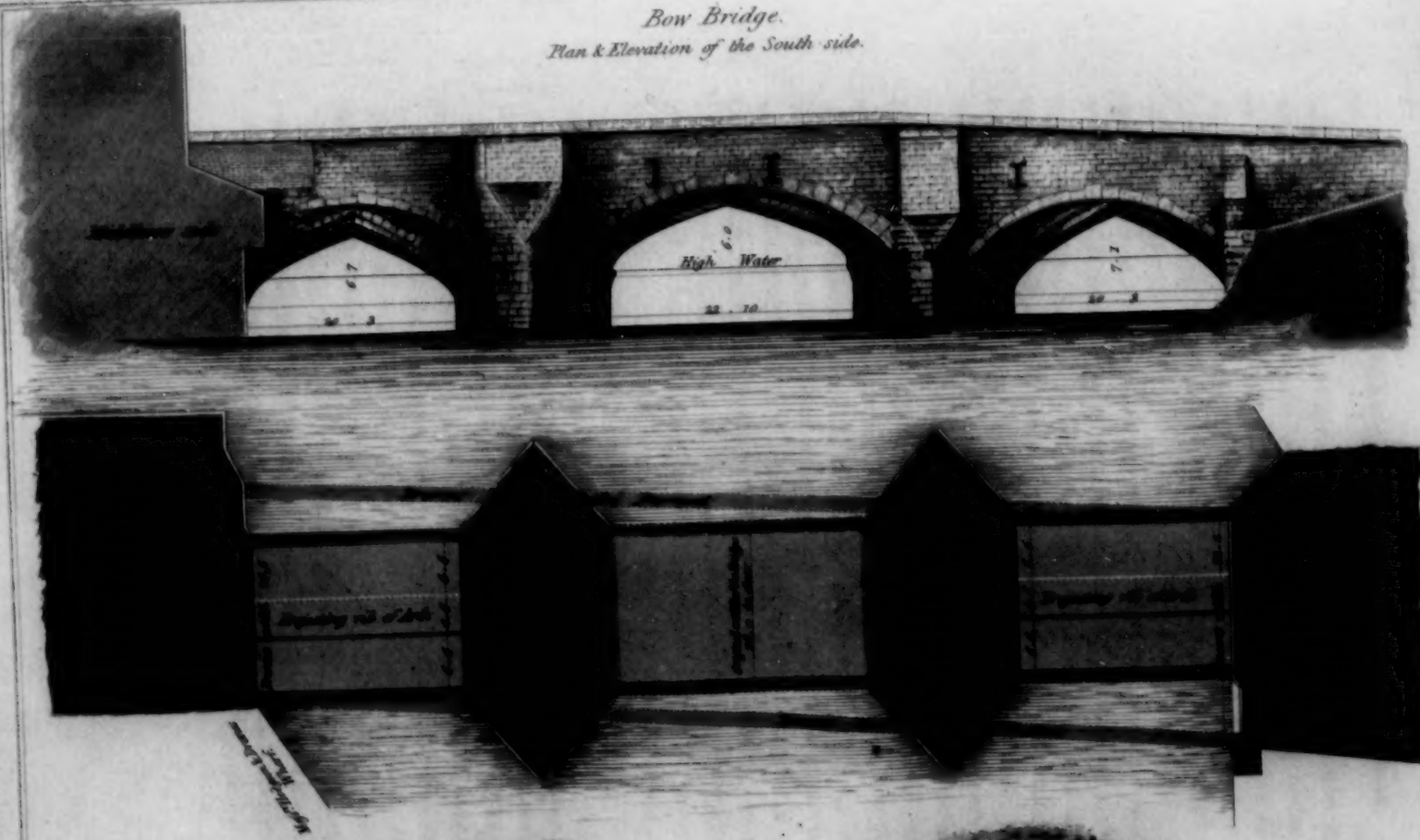
The drawing accompanying this paper (Plate XI.) shows a geometrical elevation, plan, and section of the Bridge, drawn from actual admeasurements. The elevation of the south face is shown in preference to the north, in consequence of the masonry being rather in a better state of preservation.

In the year 1741 the Bridge was widened on both sides, by which the greater part of the original face above the level of the pointed arches is obscured; but that of the eastern arch being less so than either of the other two, enables its original form to be shown in the drawing with a portion of its abutment and adjoining pier.

The plan shows the size and shape of the piers, the original width of the Bridge before the alterations and additions made to it in 1741, and also the width of the carriage way between the parapets at the present time.

Bow Bridge.

Plan & Elevation of the South side.



Section through the Essex Arch shewing the projecting Rib.

View of the North side of the Essex Arch.

Scale of Feet.

Measd & Drawn by A. Burges. 1834.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. April 10th 1837.

The piers for the support of the arches occupy a very large proportion of the water-way of the river, and, like many other ancient structures of this description, are placed at an angle with the stream, causing interruption alike to the navigation and to the passage of the flood-waters.

The width of the Bridge was originally only thirteen feet six inches between the parapets, but in the year 1741 it was increased to twenty-one feet.

A few years previous to the bridge being widened, an accommodation had been made for foot-passengers, by projecting a wooden platform five feet wide over the piers on the north side; this has lately been rebuilt, at the expense of the two counties, after having been the subject of litigation for two or three years.

Very little attention appears to have been paid to uniformity in building this bridge, as scarcely any two corresponding points in the structure agree. We find the springing courses upon different levels, and also the elevation of the arches above the surface of the water, besides which the two piers are unlike both in width and length.

The side arches claim particular notice, from having a centre rib of considerable strength projecting below the line of the arch: a form of construction frequently to be met with in old buildings of this kind.

The centre arch, which is without any rib, has evidently been rebuilt upon the remains of a former one, probably to meet the demands of an improved navigation, it being in its present state much better adapted for the passage of vessels than if formed after the model of the side ones, as it no doubt was before being altered, for the springing stones still remain.

The present irregular appearance of the stone-work of the piers and arches, can only be ascribed to the numerous alterations and repairs made to the bridge at various times during the long period of its erection; but, if any part of the original structure remains, it can only be looked for within the casing of the piers, which evidently has been added to as the stones became decayed or broken away. The external face of the piers thus presents a strange mixture of almost all styles of work, with as many different kinds of materials.

At this distant period it is difficult to determine with any degree of certainty the description of stone used in the original construction of the Bridge. As in many other ancient buildings erected in this part of the country,

Caen stone appears to have been used for arching, some of which still remains, while Kentish rag and Purbeck stone were employed in the inferior parts of the work. The present face of the piers consists of Portland and Kentish stone, laid in courses of various shapes and dimensions.

Bow Bridge, unlike many of the old English bridges, has no starlings or projections beyond the line of masonry of the piers, which may be accounted for by the shallowness of the river at the spot; at low water, during the summer months, the difficulty of constructing the foundations could not have been great, as they are laid upon a stratum of gravel 3 to 4 feet below the present bed of the river.

The filling-in of the arches between the face-courses and the centre rib is little better than rubble masonry, the stones of which are both rough and irregular in size, the joints wide, and in several places tiles are employed to wedge the whole together.

The masonry of the centre arch is of a different character to that already described; the outside face-courses are also in two thicknesses, composed of Kentish rag stone, with a few of Caen stone, which no doubt had been saved from a former arch, while the filling-in between is entirely built of Kentish stone in regular courses very neatly put together, and, as already stated, without any rib or other projection.

The external face of the bridge above the arches, is formed of common rubble masonry, and the interior part over the piers and arches, no doubt filled up nearly to the level of the roadway with chalk or stone built in mortar, the plan generally adopted by the ancient builders in works of this description.

The masonry of the additional arching, &c. made to the Bridge in 1741, consists principally of Purbeck and Portland stone, built in regular courses in a firm and substantial manner.

APPENDIX.

QUEEN MATILDA.

The frequent notice taken of Matilda, Queen of King Henry I., in the preceding pages, demands the few particulars history records of the character of this noble and pious princess. Her original name was Editha, but was afterwards exchanged for Matilda, or Maud. She was the eldest daughter of Malcolm the Third, king of Scotland, by Margaret, sister of Edgar the Atheling, the legal heir to the English crown, and therefore, nearly related to our Anglo-Saxon King Edmond Ironside. Her three brothers were kings of Scotland in succession, viz. Edgar, Alexander the First, and David the First.

Stow says of this princess, that "shee was in her tender years brought up amongst the nuns at Winchester and Ramsey in the exercise of learning and virtue;" and Dr. Lingard, in his History of England, states that "her childhood had been entrusted to the care of her aunt, Christiana, Abbess of Wilton, who, to preserve the chastity of her niece from the brutality of the Norman soldiers, had compelled her to take the veil, and to frequent the society of nuns, for in that barbarous age there was no security for females unless they took refuge in a convent, their rank being no protection."

She was married to King Henry the First, on the 11th Nov. 1100, about three months after his accession to the throne of his brother William Rufus. She died on the 1st May, 1118, and was buried at Westminster.

Of her marriage with Henry we are informed by Mr. Sharon Turner, in his History of England, that she had worn the veil, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Anselm, at first pronounced that she could not marry. She pleaded her cause with unanswerable reasoning. "I do not deny that I have worn the veil, for when I was a child, my friend Christiana put a black cloth on my head to preserve me from outrage, and when I used to throw it off, she would torment me both with harsh blows and indecent reproaches; sighing and trembling, I have worn it in her presence, but as soon as I could withdraw from her sight, I always threw it on the ground and trampled it under my feet. When my father once saw me in it, he tore it from me in a great rage, and execrated the person who had first put it on."

Her interesting statement was not denied, and as she had never taken the oaths, she was declared at last free to marry the king.

Matilda had two children, William, who met a premature death in 1120, and Alice, who afterwards assumed the name of her mother.

Dr. Lingard states of the latter, that "for the last twelve years of her life she resided at Westminster, deprived of the society of her husband, but surrounded with the parade of royalty, and an object of veneration in the eyes of the people, by whom she was generally denominated Molde the good. The piety of her character was beyond the reach of suspicion, acts of benevolence and exercises of devotion occupied her time, and to listen to the chants of minstrels and the verses of poets formed her principal amusements; one fault she was said to have had, she was liberal beyond her means, and her officers, to supply the amount of her munificence, were occasionally compelled to oppress her vassals."

It was also stated of this princess, who was a Benedictine nun, and a votary of the first order, that she went every day in Lent to Westminster Abbey, bare-footed and bare-legged, wearing a garment of hair. She would kiss the feet of the poorest people, for which she was thus reprimanded by a courtier, as recorded in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicles.

"Madame, for Goddes love is this well idoo,
To handle sich uncline lymmes and to kisse so,
Foule wold the king thynk af that hit he wiste,
And ryght wit avyle him ere he your mouth kiste.
Sur, Sur, q^{d} the queen, be stille, why sayste thou so,
Our Lord himselfe ensample gif so for to do."

This princess founded the priory of the Holy Trinity in Aldgate, London, and the hospital of Saint Giles-in-the-Fields, for leprous maidens, and had Barking Abbey under her governance for some time.

CHAPEL ON THE BRIDGE.

It was the custom of our pious forefathers to erect religious houses upon bridges, and in some cases, as many as two have been connected with the same bridge. The chapel was generally dedicated to the saint who was sup-

posed to have under his protection those who navigated the river over which the bridge was built.

One of the most noted of these buildings was the chapel upon Old London Bridge, which was dedicated to Saint Thomas, and was not more remarkable for its magnitude than for the beauty of its architecture. It remained for a long series of years the wonder and admiration of the time, and was at last removed to make way for the improvements in 1756.

That a chapel was attached to Bow Bridge in former ages, is more than probable, especially when we consider the period of its erection, and the circumstances which led to its foundation; indeed, without a chapel so ancient a bridge could hardly be considered complete. In support of this opinion, we find in Sir William Dugdale's well-known work upon Embanking and Draining, a chapel referred to. It is first noticed in the 33rd year of Henry VIth's reign, when a commission was appointed to view the state and repair of the banks of the river, in these words: "betwixt Saint Katharine's chapel upon Bow Bridge, in the parish of West Hamme, unto Eest Tilbury." And again, in the first year of Edward IVth's reign, another view is ordered from the "Mill called Tempyl Mylle to the chapel of Saint Katharine upon Bow brigge, thence to Horndone, &c."

From this authority, it would appear, that Bow Bridge once possessed a chapel, and that the same was dedicated to Saint Katharine; but where it was placed, or who was its founder, we have not been fortunate enough to discover, or to form any probable conjecture.

CHANNELSEA BRIDGE.

Channelsea Bridge is one of the two bridges originally founded by Queen Matilda, as already stated: it crosses a branch of the river Lea, called Channelsea river, upon which the Abbey Mills are situated, at about half a mile below the bridge.

The site of the mills, no doubt, is the same as the water-mill given by Matilda to the Abbess of Barking for the support of the bridges, and referred to in the inquisition taken in 31 Edw. I., under the name of Wiggenmill. Channelsea Bridge consists of one pointed arch eleven feet wide, and appears

to have been rebuilt about the same period as the side arches of Bow Bridge; the arch being much under the level of high water is seldom to be seen, and then only for a very short time.

The width of the roadway over the arch was increased, when Bow Bridge was widened in 1741, from fifteen feet to the present width of twenty-one feet; it has an additional accommodation for foot-passengers, by a wooden platform similar to that at Bow Bridge.

SUBSTANCE OF THE AGREEMENT ENTERED INTO BY THE ABBESS OF BARKING AND THE ABBOT OF STRATFORD, FOR THE REPAIR OF THE BRIDGES AND CAUSEWAY AT STRATFORD. (9 Edw. II.)

"In the presence of the most noble Lord Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, and the most venerable and discreet person Lord John de Sandale, then Chancellor; and Walter de Norwich, treasurer of England, Robert, the son of Walter Lord of Wadeham, Baron Lord Hervie de Staunton, Baron of the Exchequer, Master John Walewayn, then escheator of the Lord the King on this side Trent, being at Westminster, and of other faithful persons of the Lord the King, an agreement was made between the aforesaid Abbess and Abbot under this form (to wit): that the aforesaid Abbot and Convent, granted for himself and his successors, and his church of Stratford, and was held and bound in spiritualities and temporalities as well to the Lord the King of England, and his heirs, as to the aforesaid Abbess, and her successors, Abbesses of Berkyng, for ever to perform the constructing, making, reparation, and support of the aforesaid bridges and causeway, and to save harmless the aforesaid Abbess and her successors, and to acquit against all persons for the reparation, construction, support, and making of the same bridges and causeys, and that the said Abbot, and his convent, and his said conventual church of Stratford, with all his goods and possessions in spiritualities and temporalities, should be subject to distress and coercion of the Lord the King, his sheriff, and other officers of the King whomsoever, and of the aforesaid Abbess and her successors, and their bailiff, for perfecting and

supporting all these premises whensoever it shall be necessary. So always, that the said Abbot and convent, at the peril of their own proper charges and expenses, as aforesaid, ought, and are bound to support the constructions, making repairs, and supports aforesaid, and therefore shall remain bound; and that the Abbess of Barking, for the time being, for default of the said Abbot or his successors in this behalf, shall not incur loss or injury, and will keep them indemnified not to incur the same. And for this grant and agreement, the aforesaid Abbess gave to the aforesaid Abbot two hundred pounds of silver, saving always to the same Abbess and her successors Abbesses of Berkyng, the rent service of four marks, with the appurtenents, which the aforesaid Abbot and his predecessors before have been accustomed to pay to the said Abbess and her predecessors, for the lands and tenements which the aforesaid Abbot holds of the aforesaid Abbess in both towns of Stratford.

In witness whereof, as well the common seal of the Abbess and Convent of Berkyng as the common seal of the Abbot and Convent of Stratford to these present indentures interchangeably are putt. Dated at London, on Wednesday next after the feast of Saint Valentine, in the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred and fifteen, and in the ninth year of the reign of King Edward, son of King Edward. Also, the aforesaid Abbot, brother William the prior, John the procurator, Stephen the cellarer, and many others brethren of the said house of Stratford, consented for themselves and their successors, and their church of Stratford, to make and construct, repair and support the bridges and causey aforesaid, as in the said writing more fully is contained. And that the Lord the King, and his heirs, and their officers, whomsoever they shall be, might destrain the said Abbot and his successors by all their possessions whatsoever, temporal and spiritual, wheresoever, as often as it should be necessary for supporting the said bridge and causey, &c. for ever; and that the said Abbot and Convent and their successors were bound in future to keep indemnified the said Abbess and her successors, against the said King and others whomsoever, from making, constructing, and supporting the aforesaid bridges and causey, &c."

VII. *Observations on the Roman Station of Magiovintum; by* Henry Brandreth, *Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter to Sir* Henry Ellis, *K.H. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 24th November 1836.

The Temple, May 13, 1836.

My dear Sir,

HAVING, at various times, amused myself with tracing the Roman roads Watling street and Ikening street, more especially as connected with the station Magiovintum, perhaps the result of some of my personal observations relative thereto, may add something, however little, to the stock of antiquarian knowledge in reference to Britannia Romana. The roads, to which I have alluded, are too well known to warrant my offering any lengthened remarks. They are considered to have been British trackways many centuries before the island was traversed by Roman roads, and that while the latter run from Venta Icenorum, Caister near Norwich, to Durnovaria, Dorchester in Dorsetshire; the former, commencing at Rutupium, Richborough in Kent, proceeded north-west to Mona, Anglesea, in North Wales. Both these roads had many vicinal branches, of which I will only name four of the Ikening. One seems to have branched off westward to Venta Silurum, Caerwent, in South Wales; another southward to Venta Belgarum, Winchester; a third, I suspect, run along to Camulodunum, Maldon, in Essex; whilst another took a northerly direction to Durobrivæ, now Dorenford or Dornford, in Huntingdonshire.

At the time the Romans possessed themselves of Britain, Ireland, or at least the eastern shores of it, was inhabited by a people calling themselves Gathlin, whence the origin, in the opinion of some writers, of the Via Gathlina, or Gathlinorum, of the Romans, and the Watling street of the Saxons; and "it is a curious circumstance," remarks Lysons, "that an ancient trackway, un-

der the very same name, tends from the eastern extremity of Scotland to the same country." "These Gathlini," he adds, "were the remains of the old Celtic inhabitants of England, who had been driven, by powerful and successive invaders, to the extremity of Wales and the opposite shores of Ireland; and the communication with their country must have been of the utmost importance in those early times, as providing a passage for cattle and other articles of trade, from the extreme coasts of the west to the great marts for foreign merchants in the eastern parts of Britain." It was from this transit of cattle, I conjecture, that the Ikening street derived its name, Yken meaning in the British tongue Oxen. Hence, also, Rhedycina or Rhydykena, from Rhyd, a ford, and Yken, oxen. This, literally translated by our Saxon ancestors, would give Oxenford, at which spot the Thames, there called Isis, was most easily fordable for cattle. I may here remark, that the word Catieuchlani, through whose country this road ran, seems to have some reference to that of Yck, an ox; but I confess myself totally ignorant, at present, of the meaning of either the first or last syllable. It was at the spot where the present town of Dunstable, in Bedfordshire, stands, that these two roads crossed each other nearly at right angles. "The Watling street," says Lysons, "enters this county at the thirty-third milestone, in its way from St. Alban's to Stony Stratford, keeping nearly in the track of the modern Irish road, and is not to be distinguished from it; with this road, also, it leaves the county a little beyond the forty-second milestone, having passed through one itinerary station on it, which is generally agreed to have been at Dunstable. Roman coins have been found near this town; its present streets are at right angles with each other, and coincide with the four points of the compass; corroborating proofs of its having been the work of that people." If one locality, therefore, more eligible than another could have been selected for an inland market, it would most assuredly have been the spot where travellers and merchants from the four cardinal points must have been daily meeting each other. The Ikening street enters the county on its south-west borders, crossing the turnpike road from Bedford to Luton about the sixteenth milestone. "Here," says Lysons, "a branch seems to bear to the right, through Great Bramingham and Houghton, to the British town of Maiden Bower; while the principal road continues on the side of the hills between Great

Bramingham and Limbury, over Leagrave marsh, through the present town of Dunstable, where it crosses the Watling street, and soon after enters Buckinghamshire. In the whole of its passage through this and the neighbouring counties, it continues on the top or side of the chalk hills, and is known to every inhabitant by the name of the Ikeneld or Ikening street." The spot where it enters Buckinghamshire is where the river Ouzel crosses it. The earliest Itinerary seems to have been that of Ptolemy, and as many stations did not exist in his time which did in the time of Antonine, or, existing, were overlooked by him, the Itinerary of the Emperor has been generally regarded as the better authority for the locality of Roman stations. When we add how much more difficult it was for Ptolemy to obtain information than Antonine, the authority of the former is chiefly valuable when confirmed by the Itinerary of the latter. The names of the stations and their distances on the Watling street from London, are given by Antonine as follows:

Londinium.		
Sulloniacæ	.	9 miles.
Verolamio	.	12
Durocobrivis	.	12
Magiovinto	.	12

It has been generally considered that the station Magiovintum was at or near Dunstable, and the only thing that stood in the way of placing it there was the unfortunate fact of its being directly contrary to the statement of Antonine, who names it as the second station from Verolamium, and not the first, a distance of twenty-four miles instead of twelve. How, then, was the difficulty to be got over—how reconcile the Itinerary with its Dunstable locality? The only way was to consider that Magiovintum and Durocobrivæ had changed places through the carelessness of some transcriber of the Itinerary, which Ward and others have accordingly done, placing the latter at Fenny Stratford instead of at Dunstable. In seeking out the localities of British towns or Roman stations derived from British words, I have ever made it a rule to ascertain how the name and situation correspond, and I think that I may venture to say, that somewhere about one half of them will be found to be derived from natural objects, such as hills, vales, fields, rivers, lakes, &c.

and their peculiar characteristics, such as cold, narrow, white, red, blue, &c. "And certainly," says Camden, "the situation of ancient places are best conjectured from ancient inscriptions, roads, etymology, and resemblance of names." Durocobrivæ, tested by this rule, would indicate a locality as connected with Douro, water; Co, red; and Briv, which Camden translates, bridge, passage or ford; it being only found in names of places near rivers. Taking, then, the Itinerary of Antonine as my authority, I proceeded along the Ikening street, westward, to the nearest spot where anything in the shape of water could be found, being at a place at the foot of the Downs, called Well Head, distant, perhaps, as the Romans might reach it, by a slight deviation from the Watling street, about twelve miles from Verolamium. This spot has every appearance of having been a British town; the hill-side being full of small hollows, similar to those in other parts of the Chiltern range, and which have been considered by antiquarian writers to have been the coomb or cave dwellings of our aboriginal ancestors. Lower down, the brook has apparently been dammed up at some period or other, by which means a small lake or head of water was obtained; but whether it was done by the Britons, by the Romans, or by the Priors of Dunstable, for the purpose of forming a fishpond, is a matter of doubt.

Having obtained the first syllable of Durocobrivæ, I made diligent search for its adjuncts, but without the least success, as nothing near it bore out the derivation. Unless, therefore, the word Coh or Co was used by the Britons to signify something else than "red," Durocobrivæ was not situated here.

I next took another course, and proceeded eastward, along the Ikening street, to a spot called Leagrave Marsh, being the source of the river Lea. This place may be reached in about twelve miles from Verolamium, and here I began to look about for something of redness, but I found nothing of the kind, the fields around it being rather whitish from a chalky substratum. It has, indeed, been suggested by Camden, whether Durocobrivæ might not have been situated at Flamstead, near the Watling street, and had it agreed both in derivation and distance, there would certainly have been good grounds for such an allocation; but as this village, instead of being twelve miles from Verolamium, is scarcely more than six, and as the brook, the Verlam, to use the

words of Camden, "is no redder than the red sea," the position here taken up is anything but tenable. Two camps near Dunstable have been considered by antiquaries to be the site of Magiovintum. Of these, one is situated on a brow of a hill, called Totternhoe Castle Hill, about two miles north-west of Dunstable. It consists of a lofty circular mount, with a slight wall round its base, and a larger one of an irregular form, at some distance from it. On the south-east side is a camp, in the form of a parallelogram, about 500 feet long and 250 broad, three sides of which are defended by a vallum and foss, high and deep, and very entire on the south-east side. The south-west side, being on the edge of the hill-steep, has neither vallum nor foss; while the north-east has been destroyed by the plough. In the foss of the circular camp is a hollow, apparently caused by the filling-in of a well, which must have been of a great depth, as no water could have been obtained until the level of the land-spring clay had been reached, which lies quite at the bottom of the hill, probably from 120 to 140 feet below that of the camp. On the top of the circular mount is a small hollow or basin, used, most probably, for a fire beacon; the hollow having been made to prevent the wood and other materials from being blown away, which would inevitably have been the case, as the west winds, especially during the Equinoxes, become here not unfrequently perfect hurricanes. As the camps of the Romans were square, and not circular, this would seem to have been an earthwork raised by the Britons, and subsequently made use of by the Romans as a castrum æstivum. The view from the mount is very extensive, commanding a long range of the Chiltern hills, the vale of Aylesbury, and the central part of Bedfordshire.

There is an exceedingly good plan of this camp in Lysons's "Bedfordshire." At the distance of about a mile from it, to the eastward, in the hamlet of Sewell and in the parish of Houghton Regis, is another earthwork. It consists of a circular vallum, thrown up on a level plain, and is about 2,500 feet in circumference. To the south, it has no foss; to the south-west and west, only a very small one. To the north and east, however, the foss is broader and deeper; while to the north-west there is a descent to the meadows. The inner part of the vallum is from eight to fourteen feet high, and the area contains about nine acres. There is an opening on the south-east side, which appears to be co-eval with the camp itself, and from which there is a road still

visible, leading, by Brewer's Hill farm-house, on to a large oblong tumulus, near Dunstable, called the Mill Bank, from its having been the site of a windmill. The north side is level within, and the ground falls as much within as without the other sides. It is known by the name of Maiden Bower Camp; Maiden being a corruption of Maydun, from Mâg, pronounced May, campus, and Dun, collis,—the old appellation of Castle Hill. Burgh being added to it by the Saxons, formed Maydunburgh, whence Mayden Bower. Dr. Stukeley supposes it to be a British work, and describes it as "standing on a plain, but not far from a lesser eminence of the Chiltern Hills, about a mile from Dunstable; the rampier pretty high, but very little sign of a ditch, nor do I think," says he, "there ever was much more." The eminence here alluded to is, no doubt, that of Castle Hill, though it is difficult to say to what extent the plough may have destroyed any foss which may have existed; while, as to its having been a British town, I must freely confess that its locality by no means answers to those generally supposed to have been such, as it is situated neither near marsh, river, nor wood. There are, however, similar camps, in different parts of the country, ascribed, by antiquaries, to our Celtic ancestors. Arbury Banks, by Ashwell, is a like work; such another is to be seen on Wilbury Hill, and a third between Chipping Norton and Stow-in-the-Wolds.

Under the impression, then, that this camp might not have been a British town, I proceeded once again to Well Head, and should the Forum Dianæ of Richard have been but another name for the station known to Antonine as Magiovintum, I should have little hesitation in placing it here. Singularly enough, the termination vint, or, as sometimes spelt, vent,[a] was the same in the British tongue as forum in that of the Romans, which, in junction with mâg, campus, would give us magvint or magiovinto, the "market-field," a name most applicable to its situation, and agreeing well with that of "forum." Near the bottom of the slope of the down, a platform of earth has been thrown up; but whether it belongs to the days of the Britons or to the period when the tournaments were held there, may be a matter of some doubt. A strong bank of earth, or dam, seems to have been thrown up across the channels of the springs, to stop their course; but whether this was done

[a] This word as venta, is still in use in Spain, where it means an inn. It is evidently derived from "vender," to expose for sale.

for the purpose of forming a sort of lake for defence, as at Verolamium, or to insure a supply of water in dry seasons to some mill below it, is uncertain. Certain, however, it is that a mill on this brook has obtained the name of "Do-little mill," from the circumstance of its not being able to work, in dry seasons, from a deficiency of water. Near the Well Head, in some of the ploughed fields, I have, also, found fragments of Roman or Romano-British pottery, and Roman coins have been dug up in its vicinity, as well as a golden ornament, discovered a few years since, by the road side, by some labourers digging for flints. It was described to me as a small horn, not improbably, a torques[b] or armilla; but as I was not able to obtain a sight of it, I cannot determine its origin or use. Whether, however, Dunstable be Magiovintum or not, I perfectly agree with Lysons, "that the name of Forum Dianæ, given to this station by Richard, shews it to have been a considerable mart of trade, for which its situation, at the intersection of the Ikening and Watling streets, was particularly convenient; and it is, indeed, not improbable, that the site was fixed upon by the Romans for their new town on this very account, in preference to the neighbouring town of Maiden Bower." I should here observe, that the learned author whom I have quoted, does not place Magiovintum in the vicinity of Dunstable, but at Dunstable itself, in some fields immediately to the south of the west street of that town, where are now to be seen foundations of buildings, not indeed, as far as I have been able to ascertain, of Roman times, but of those of the monastery of the Friars Preachers.

Some writers have considered, and myself once among the rest, that Magiovintum, or, as written by them, Magiovinium was derived from Mâg, "campus," and Gwyn, "candidus," and oddly enough the camp, to which I have before alluded, as situated at the source of the river Lea, is on the edge of a field known by the name of "the White Field"—the Mâggwyn, as it were, of the Britons. How careful then ought an etymologist to be, and how doubtful, after all, must be some etymons! The distance of this camp from Verolamium, by a branch road through the village of Caddington, is about twelve miles. It is situated on a gently-rising ground, just above the springs, and answers exactly to the description of a British oppidum, as given by Roman

[b] Since the above was written, I have seen some specimens of gold ring-money, trumpet-formed. Might it not rather have been one of them?

historians. It consists of about three-fourths of a circle. To the north and east, it is defended by a vallum and foss; to the south and south-west, a natural steep declivity forms a sufficient defence without the aid of art; while to the west, the sources of the river, the river itself, and an adjoining morass, rendered it totally unapproachable either for foot or horse. Its size may be about that of Castle Hill; its shape and locality—parvis componere magna—bear a great resemblance to that of Verolamium, part of it being flanked by a wood. From it a road runs down to the Ikening street, if, indeed, the Ikening street may not rather be said to pass through it. Whether, however, it does or does not, it diverges considerably from the direct line to Dunstable and Well Head, apparently for no other reason than that of visiting this camp. On the whole, whether it be the true Magiovintum or not, it is certainly an earth work of great antiquity, and well deserving a less imperfect description than I have given of it. I could have wished to have stated its length and breadth, but am not able to do so at present, having mislaid the notes made by me of its admeasurement, which I took, however, only by pacing it. I have not been able to ascertain that any coins or other remains of by-gone ages have been found at or near it, a circumstance which may be accounted for by the supposition of its having been abandoned by the Romans, for a station where they might avail themselves of the traffic from north to south at the same time they did so of that from east to west. Between this camp and the spot where the Ikening street crosses the road from Luton to Bedford is a farm house, in the garden of which is seen a square entrenchment, to which I should not like to fix a date; but as either the Ikening street itself, or a branch road from it, runs hard by it, it would almost seem to be connected with the Roman æra.

Having now noticed the two main roads, those of the Watling-street and the Ikening street, I will only make a few brief observations with regard to some of the branch ones.

The first is that which led to Bedford, without passing by the Dunstable station. This road quits the Watling-street about a mile and a half before it arrives at Dunstable from St. Alban's, at a place called Houghton Gap, being the "opening" to the village of that name. The level ground, at the foot of the Downs, through which it passes, is known by the name of Street Field; a

circumstance which, added to the discovery of Roman coins near it, indicates its having been used by the Romans. It was about the year 1770, that a labourer of the town of Dunstable, digging for gravel near the Shepherds' Bush, discovered an earthern urn or pot, formed of red clay, and nearly full of small copper coins of several Roman emperors. The urn or jar was at once broken into small pieces by a blow of the pick-axe, so that no part of it was preserved. Several more Roman coins have been found, since that period, on this part of the Downs, in digging for flints and other road materials. From Street Field, it passes hard by the east end of Dunstable Priory church, and so on, by Wood Way, to Houghton church. A short distance before it reaches Wood Way, it runs along a faint slope called Gravel Pit Hill, where also Roman coins have been found.

From Houghton Church, I suspect to the eastward of it, it proceeded in nearly a straight line to Lord's Hill, and the town of Toddington, and then on through Ampthill to Bedford. Roman and Romano-British remains have been dug up along the greater part of the line of road. Among these were some fragments of pottery, and urns of light brown and coarse black clay, together with a small copper key and arrow-head of the same metal, found in trenching a piece of ground for planting, and opposite to a moated square enclosure, in the hamlet of Thorn, called the Bury Field. A fine silver denarius was also shewn to me, dug up on Thorn Green close by. There is a field at Caldecote or Cauldecote, as it is sometimes written, where the Priors of Dunstable had a jail and fish-pond, in which I have seen many fragments of pottery turned up by the plough, all of them undoubtedly of Roman or Romano-British manufacture.

A few years since, some labourers, in digging gravel near the road or place traditionally named by the inhabitants "the Frenchman's Highway," in the parish of Toddington, discovered weapons, pieces of armour, &c.; and, although I have not seen any of them myself, an account of them has been given in a small work entitled "The History of Dunstable and its Antiquities," by an anonymous author. "In the year 1819," says the writer, "in a field belonging to Mr. Hicks of Toddington, on the west of that town, towards Chalgrave and Winfield, as some labourers were digging gravel for the roads, they discovered, for the length of a furlong, or upwards of two hundred yards or more,

considerable quantities of human bones, pieces of iron armour, numbers of spear-heads, with sockets and rivets, &c. The handles were decayed and gone; the principal piece found was part of an ancient helmet, of a singular form, which appears to have been Roman; it weighed two pounds, or more, when found, but had pieces broken from it before it came into my hands; it had lain in the earth a great number of years, and was corroded with gravel and rust. I obtained the piece of helmet, which had been thrown by with other old iron in consequence of its weight; the other pieces of iron were considered not worth saving. I was desirous of obtaining some of the spear-heads, but I was told that none were preserved, but were all buried with the gravel, not being worth saving, for they were all rust. A person who was daily on the spot when these antiquities were discovered, considers that there were some thousand bodies buried there, from the large quantity of black earth which was thrown out with the gravel, in solid masses; and from the number of spears, daggers, &c. there found. I was likewise informed, by several persons, that pieces of swords or daggers, with two and three edges, and others like spits, were found; with numbers of buckles, rings, and other brass pieces of a circular form, which, by the description of their size, I consider were placed in the centre of their shields or bucklers, or worn as breast-plates, being embossed with ornaments, &c.; they were much corroded, but sufficient remained to discover of what metal they were composed. Also, at the same time, an olla, or small urn, containing beads—and which the labourers called a bottle of beads—was found in the same field, of various colours and curious forms. Some ancient coins were found, but not many. Considerable quantities of spear-heads, pieces of sword blades, parts of daggers, &c., were dug up. A person of Toddington asserts, that many of the pieces of swords were worked up by the smiths in that town and neighbourhood: exclusive of those that were so much rusted as to be considered useless. Likewise, I was shewn two other spear-heads, that were dug out lately from the eastern part of this parish; they appear to be composed of copper or brass, of a different shape and size from those iron or steel ones before mentioned. They were found in or near the brook or mill-stream which runs by Cowbridge and Wadelows; these spear-heads were not both found at the same time, though near the same place:

they are very perfect, and appear of similar workmanship, but not alike in size or shape; one is seven inches and three-quarters in length—the other not quite six inches; and the socket of one is twice the length of that of the other. The breadth of them is nearly the same, viz. one inch and a half; the shortest is in the shield form, with a larger socket than the other; they have a semi-round projection, which extends from the socket to the point, down the flat part of the spear, and were fastened to their handles by a single rivet through each socket: the longest appears rough on the edge, like a fine saw; the shortest is a little bent, and has two hacks in it, probably from the stroke of a sword, or some other sharp instrument.

"Among other things was found a piece of copper, overlaid with a thin plate of fine gold; it is part embossed, other parts engraved or chased, and highly ornamented. I consider it was used as an ornament to a girdle or sword-belt, by some ancient warrior; or otherwise attached to some part of his armour. The length is nearly five inches, and the breadth three in the widest part. The beads generally were composed of stone, though some were of a composition of glass, of many colours; the smallest were black or dark brown; others appeared to be made of agate or very hard white stone. Several of the ollæ were filled with small bones, apparently the bones of human fingers, toes, &c. History informs us that the Britons used brass spear-heads in their wars, and I have reason to think some of the ones in question were brass, though they now have the appearance of copper. I lately conversed with a labourer who was employed in digging gravel in the abovementioned fields, who stated that he one day found four of those circular sorts of plates, before alluded to, of superior workmanship, and was informed, after he had parted with them, that they were most of them composed of gold. He described them as being of the shape and size of saucers, of five or six inches diameter, and marked with flowers or figured work all over, and when rubbed, they shone like bright yellow gold. They probably belonged to four chief captains or officers that were buried together, as they were all found in one place. He stated that the beads were of all sorts of colours, and were found in masses in various parts of the field; the vessels, or whatever had contained them, had perished in the earth. The small pots, he said, were filled with little bones, and

were very numerous in one part of the field; but it was impossible to preserve any of them, as they crumbled to dust with the slightest touch of the hand."

It was in the year 571, that the Britons, fighting unsuccessfully against the brother of Ceawlin, at Bedford, were obliged to retreat towards Wessex. The most advantageous line of march would have been by Ampthill, Toddington, Leighton, Aylesbury, Bensington, and Ensham, in Oxfordshire; and, as we find that the four last were taken possession of by the Anglo-Saxons, I have no doubt about such having in fact been the route made use of by them. It is with this period, and with this sanguinary struggle on the part of the Britons for independence, that I connect the field of battle in which these remains were found.

At a spot so much frequented by travellers as the Roman station, whether as Magiovintum or Forum Dianæ, must have been, we might expect to find many remains of antiquity, in the shape of urns, coins, fibulæ, pavements, &c. Of pavements, I believe, none have been found, but vast quantities of coins have been, and are continually being, found in its vicinity. Among others I have heard of two small pieces, concave on one side and convex on the other. One is of copper; I know not of what metal the other is, but they are both of them British, or rather, perhaps, Celtic, as they upon them the grotesque figures usually found on British coins. They were found on the track of the Watling Street, near the foot of the Downs. There have been found, also, of Roman coins, a thick brass one of Tiberius, and another of the same description, of Trajan: one of Vespasian, of first brass, with the amphitheatre on the reverse: one of Augustus Cæsar, and one, in third brass, of Dalmatius.

To these may be added three denarii, of Vespasian, Severus, and Sergius Galba; three in first brass, being of Trajan, Aurelius, and Commodus; four in second brass, of Vespasian, Maximianus, Trajan, and Diocletian, together with very many of the Lower Empire; as well as of Claudius, Tetricus, Carausius, Allectus, &c. in third brass. They were all found in different parts of the parish of Houghton, chiefly in the "upper" or "south" fields, being those through which the Ickening Street runs.

Should this attempt to elucidate the station of Magiovintum, induce older and abler antiquaries to investigate, in like manner, the different Roman stations in the vicinities of which they may chance to reside, I shall not consider the time devoted to writing the present Communication altogether thrown away.

Believe me to be,

My dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

HENRY BRANDRETH.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H.
F.R.S., Sec.

VIII. *Remarks on the Commencement of the Reign of King Richard the First, by* WILLIAM HARDY, *Esq.; Communicated in a Letter from the Rt. Hon.* LORD HOLLAND, *F.R.S. & S.A., to Sir* HENRY ELLIS, *K.H. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 15th December, 1836.

South Street, 13th Dec. 1836.

DEAR SIR HENRY,

THE enclosed Communication was sent to me as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, by Mr. William Hardy, an ingenious and diligent young man, who is one of the clerks in that establishment. As it ascertains a fact (hitherto, I believe, unknown), namely, that the regnal years of Richard the First were calculated, not from his father's death, but from his own coronation, and that before the latter event he had the title of *Dominus* Angliæ, not *Rex* Anglorum; I think it worth the notice of the Society of Antiquaries, and in the absence of Lord Aberdeen send it to you, with a request, that at your convenience you will communicate it to that Society.

I am, dear Sir,

truly yours,

VASSALL HOLLAND.

Duchy of Lancaster, Dec. 9, 1836.

MY LORD,

IT has been justly remarked that, in fixing with accuracy the commencement of the regnal years of King Richard the First, great impediments are felt from the total absence of any Chancery Rolls, or Records of the enrolment

of Charters and Royal Letters, which have been found to afford such conclusive evidence with respect to the date of the regnal years of his successor King John, and of all subsequent monarchs.

The existence of an original charter preserved amongst the archives of the Duchy of Lancaster, which seems to throw some light upon this subject, is conceived to be a fact that might not be altogether uninteresting to the Society of Antiquaries. I have therefore indulged in the freedom of sending your Lordship a transcript of it, which, if you should consider it worthy the notice of the Society, your Lordship might think proper to be presented at one of their meetings.

It is believed that no similar instance has ever been adduced of a charter granted by an English sovereign, between the demise of his predecessor and his own coronation. This charter affords internal evidence of having been granted by Richard the First nearly a month after his father's death, and therein he styles himself only Lord of England, " Ricardus Dei gratia Dominus Angliæ ; " it seems therefore to establish the opinion that Richard's reign did not actually commence before his coronation, and that the regnal years of that monarch were not computed from the death of his father, the period usually assigned to his accession ; tending also in some measure to support the theory, of late much contended for, that the interval between the death of one monarch and the coronation of his successor, was in the eleventh and twelfth centuries considered an Interregnum.

King Henry the Second is allowed by all authorities to have died at the castle of Chinon on the 6th of July 1189, when Richard his eldest son succeeded to the inchoate right to the throne of England, though not as it seems to the title of King. He was invested, according to Hoveden, with the Dukedom of Normandy on the 20th of July (the feast of Saint Margaret) following ; and on the 13th of August the Duke sailed for England from Barfleur. We are not told how long he remained at Barfleur before he obtained a passage, but there can be little doubt that during his stay there, on that occasion, the present charter was given. Richard, however, was not crowned until the third of September following, and the proof that his regnal year was reckoned from that day, and not from his father's demise, seems justly deducible from the fact that in his public instruments he did not assume the style and title of

King before his coronation, taken in conjunction with another original charter existing amongst the Duchy Archives, which is dated at Marseilles, on the third of August, in the first year of the same monarch's reign. In that charter there is sufficient internal evidence to shew that it was made in the year of our Lord 1190; and consequently, if the accession of Richard was dated from King Henry's demise, the third of August, 1190, would have been in the second and not in the first year of the reign.

Another interesting fact apparent from the charter here transcribed is, that King Richard, the first of our sovereigns who in his charters and public letters wrote in the first person plural, did not use that form until after he had been crowned; as throughout this charter he makes use of the expressions "Ego," and "Meus," as did all the preceding English monarchs, instead of the plural number "Nos," and "Noster," which was adopted by him after his coronation, and followed by every succeeding King.

The purport of the charter is to confirm, unto Gerard de Camville and his wife Nichola, all the right and heritage of the same Nichola in England and in Normandy, together with the custody and the Constableship of Lincoln Castle, to hold as freely and entirely as Robert de Haia and Richard de Haia, or any of the said Nichola's ancestors, held the same. Duke Richard moreover grants to them, hereby, Warreville and Puppeville, with the exception of 300*l.* Anjou of land which he had given out of those manors to Richard de Humeto. Amongst the witnesses are John Earl of Morton, the Duke's brother, and several other noblemen who accompanied him to England, and the charter is given under the hand of William his Chancellor, the famous William Longchamp, whom he afterwards made Bishop of Ely. The seal has unfortunately been torn away from the document, and is now lost.

With many apologies for the liberty I have taken in sending your Lordship these remarks,

I have the honour to remain,

your Lordship's

very obedient and obliged servant,

WILLIAM HARDY.

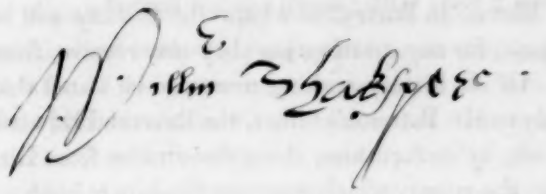
To the Right Hon. Lord Holland,
&c. &c. &c.

R. ði gr̃a dn̄s Angł 7 Dux Norm̄. 7 Aq'ł 7 Com̄ And. Archiep̄is. Ep̄is. Abbatib⁹. Comitib⁹. Baronib⁹. Justič. Vič. 7 omnib⁹ Baiłł 7 fidelib⁹ suis salł. Sciatis me concessisse 7 p̄senti carta mea confirmasse Gerardo de Canvilla 7 Nicolae uxori sue 7 hedib⁹ eor̄ totū jus 7 heditatē quā habe debēt in Anglia 7 in Norm̄ de heditate ipsi⁹ Nicoł cū custodia 7 constabularia castelli Lincoln̄. 7 cū om̄ib⁹ redditib⁹ 7 rectitudinib⁹ 7 libtatib⁹ quas habe debēt. sič Rob de Haia. 7 Ric̄ de Haia. v̄l aliq's añcessor̄ ipsi⁹ Nič ea justi⁹. 7 meli⁹. 7 libius. 7 integrius tenuerł. P⁹terea concessi eis Puppevilł. 7 Warrevillā. sič jus suū cū omnib⁹ ptinentiis ad ip̄a maneria ptinentib⁹. exceptis CCC. libratis t̄re And quas dedi de maneriis illis Ric̄ de Humeto. Quare volo 7 firmit⁹ p̄cipio qđ jā dicti Ger̄ 7 uxor ej⁹ 7 hedes eorū om̄ia p̄dicta habeant 7 teneant. bn̄ 7 in pace. libe. q'ete. integre plenarie 7 honorifice. cū om̄ib⁹ libtatib⁹ 7 libis consuetudinib⁹ suis. t̄. Johe fr̄e meo Com̄ Morił. Witto de Humeł Constab. Hug̃ de Gurnai. Henr̄ de Novo burgo. Walkeł de ferariis. Rad Taissun. Witł de Sčo Johe. Rob de Harecurt. Witto de Duia. Hug̃ Bard Marescallo meo. Data p manū Witti Cancełł mei ap̄d Barbeł.

[L. S.]

IX. *Observations on an Autograph of Shakspere, and the orthography of his Name; in a letter from Sir* FREDERIC MADDEN, *K.H. F.R.S. and S.A., to* JOHN GAGE, *Esq. F.R.S., Director.*

Read 26th January, 1837.



British Museum, Jan. 11, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR,

I TRUST it will not be deemed foreign to the pursuits of the Society of Antiquaries, to receive some particulars respecting the Autograph of an individual, the magic of whose name must best plead as my apology for abstracting them from their graver subjects of inquiry. The individual I allude to is no less a personage than our immortal dramatic poet WILLIAM SHAKSPERE, to mention whom, and to excite curiosity and interest, I may, I believe, in any society of educated persons, assume to be inseparable. By the assistance of my friend Charles Frederick Barnwell, Esq. of the British Museum, I am enabled to lay before the Society an accurate fac-simile of the signature of this Great Man, written on the fly-leaf of a volume which, there

is every reason to believe, once formed a part of his library, and which has hitherto, strange to say, been hidden from the knowledge and indefatigable researches of the whole host of Shaksperian commentators, collectors, and illustrators. Already, on the mere announcement of the fact, one might fancy, with no great effort of imagination, the shades of Warburton and Johnson, Tyrwhitt and Steevens, Ritson and Chalmers, Warton and Pair, again crowding round the volume, to view the characters traced by the hand of the Bard of Avon; again might we view the adoration of Boswell's bended knees, and on this occasion no sceptic sneer would distort the lip or depress the brow of the critical Malone.—But to the point:

The precious volume which I have thus introduced to your notice is a copy of the first edition of the English translation of Montaigne's "Essays," by John Florio, printed in folio, 1603,[a] and its fortunate owner is the Reverend Edward Patteson, of East Sheen, in Surrey, to whom the Society will be indebted, in common with myself, for any gratification they may receive from the present communication. Of its history nothing more can be stated than this, that it belonged previously to Mr. Patteson's father, the Reverend Edward Patteson, Minister of Smethwick, in Staffordshire, about three miles from Birmingham, and thus contiguous to the county which gave our Shakspere birth. How or when this gentleman first became possessed of it, is not known; but it is very certain

[a] The Essayes, or Morall, Politike, and Millitarie Discourses of Lo. Michaell de Montaigne, knight. First written by him in French, and now done into English by him that hath inuiolably vowed his labors to the Æternitie of their Honors, whose names he hath seuerally inscribed on these his consecrated Altares. The first Booke to the Right Honorable Lucie Co. of Bedford, and Ladie Anne Harrington, her Ho. Mother. The second Booke to the Right Honorable Elizabeth Co. of Rutland, and Lady Penelope Riche. The third Booke to the Right Honorable Ladie Elizabeth Grey and Ladie Marie Nevile. John Florio.

"Printed at London by Val. Sims, for Edward Blount, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, 1603." folio. From his address "to the courteous reader," we learn that this translation was undertaken at the suggestion of Sir Edward Wotton. It was reprinted in 1613, (Lowndes) and a third time in 1632. These later editions are dedicated to Queen Anna of Denmark, and prefixed are some commendatory verses by Sam. Daniel, to his "deare brother and friend Mr. John Florio, one of the Gentlemen of her Majesties most royal Privie Chamber." The original work was first published in 1588.

that previous to the year 1780, Mr. Patteson used to exhibit the volume to his friends as a curiosity, *on account of the autograph.* No public notice of it, however, was at any time made; and, contented with this faint notoriety, the autograph of Shakspere continued to slumber in the hands of this gentleman and his son, until by the friendly representations of Mr. Barnwell, the present owner was induced to bring it to the British Museum for inspection. Now, imperfect as this information is, yet it is ample of itself to set at rest all doubts that might at first naturally arise in the minds of those who are acquainted with the forgeries of Ireland, since, at the period when this volume was assuredly in the library at Smethwick, and known to contain Shakspere's autograph, this literary impostor was scarcely born. This fact must at once obviate any scruples in regard to the autograph now brought forward having emanated from the same manufactory which produced the "*Miscellaneous Papers.*" For myself, I may be permitted to remark, that the forgeries of Chatterton[b] and Ireland have always appeared to me thoroughly contemptible, and utterly unworthy of the controversy they occasioned; indeed, they can only be justly characterised in the words of Malone, as "the genuine offspring of consummate ignorance and unparalleled audacity."[c] At the present day the study and knowledge of ancient manuscripts, the progress of our language, and the rules of exact criticism in matters of this kind, have become too extensively

[b] The Chatterton forgeries are now preserved in the British Museum, MSS. Add. *5766,* A. B. C. and exhibit the most decisive proofs of the impudence of the imposture, and the obstinate ignorance of those who were to the last its champions. These defenders of Rowley argue that Chatterton was incapable of reading any work of research; but if so, how is it we find among his fictions the list of Romances printed in Madox's *Formulare Anglicanum,* and a copy of the kneeling figure of one of the Howard family, in Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 847, which the impostor has partly altered, and then had the assurance to write around an inscription to the memory of *Sir Gualeroyn de Chatterton?* To those who may still have the least lingering wish to advocate the cause of Rowley, I recommend the task of decyphering eighteen lines in *the Purple Roll,* which for some reason or other have never yet been printed. It is worthy of remark, that one of these contemptible fragments is actually fastened to a portion of a genuine deed of the date of 10 Hen. IV. which in all probability is one of the very parchments that *did* come out of the celebrated *Chest,* and which is just what we might expect it to be, a quitclaim from one citizen of Bristol to another, of his right in four shops in the suburbs. See MSS. Add. *5766* A. fol. 28.

[c] Inquiry, p. 354.

spread to allow us to suppose any similar attempt will ever disgrace our literature; but for the sake of gratifying curiosity, and of a comparison between the genuine autograph of Shakspere, and the miserable imitations of *Master William Henry Ireland*, I am enabled, by the kindness of Sir Henry Ellis, to exhibit to the Society a paper in the hand-writing of the forger, in which may be seen at one view his copies[c] of other genuine signatures of the poet, and his own avowal of his fabrications. The present autograph *challenges and defies suspicion*, and has already passed the ordeal of numerous competent examiners, all of whom have, *without a single doubt*, expressed their conviction of its genuineness.

The only possible objection which might arise in the mind of a sceptic is this, whether there might not have been living at the same period other persons of the name of *William Shakspere*, to one of whom the volume might have belonged? In reply to this it must be remarked, *first*, that on comparing the autograph before us with the genuine signatures of the poet, on his will, and on two legal instruments, there is a sufficient resemblance to warrant the conclusion that they are by the same hand, although enough variation to preclude any idea of imitation; and, *secondly*, that the contents of the volume itself come in aid, and afford additional evidence of the genuineness, as well as add to the interest of the autograph; for it is well known that this book was consulted by Shakspere in the composition of his plays. The *Tempest* presents us with a proof so undeniable of this fact, that I cannot refuse myself the satisfaction of quoting it here.

In the second act, sc. 2, p. 64, tom. IV. ed. 8°. 1813, occurs the following dialogue, after the escape of the king's party from the vessel, on the deserted island:—

> *Gonzalo.* Had I plantation of this isle, my lord—
> *Antonio.* He'd sow it with nettle-seed.
> *Sebastian.* Or docks, or mallows.
> *Gon.*—and were the king of it, what would I do?
> *Seb.* 'Scape being drunk, for want of wine.
> *Gon.* I' the commonwealth I would by contraries

[c] Fac-similies of these having already appeared in his "Confession," it was thought unnecessary to repeat them here.

Execute all things; for *no kind of traffic*
Would I admit; *no name of magistrate;*
Letters should not be known; no use of service,
Of riches, or of poverty; no contracts;
Successions; bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none;
No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil;
No occupation; all men idle, all,
And women too, but innocent and pure;
No sovereignty.—
Seb.—And yet he would be king on't!
Ant. The latter end of his commonwealth forgets the beginning!"

The corresponding passage of Montaigne occurs in book 1. chap. 30, p. 102, where he is speaking of a newly discovered country, which he calls *Antartick France*, and thus proceeds:—"It is a nation, would I answer Plato, that hath *no kind of traffike, no knowledge of letters*, no intelligence of numbers, *no name of magistrate*, nor of politike superioritie; *no vse of service, of riches, or of poverty, no contracts, no successions, no dividences;*[d] *no occupation, but idle;* no respect of kindred, but common; no apparell but naturall; no manuring of lands; *no vse of wine, corne, or mettle.* The very words that impart lying, falshood, treason, dissimulations, covetousnes, envie, detraction, and pardon, were never heard of amongst them."

The words marked in italics will sufficiently point out the close imitation; for, in truth, Shakspere has scarcely done more than copy Florio's translation, with just sufficient alteration to cause the sentences to fall into rhythm. Warburton has noted, that throughout the dialogue Shakspere's aim is to convey a satire on the various Utopian treatises of government; but in the original, Montaigne is speaking seriously of the newly discovered country of Brasil, where Villegaignon first landed in 1555.[e] Malone infers, with great proba-

[d] The edition of 1632 reads *partitions*, and it is rather singular that Malone, in quoting this passage in his notes, should have referred to this, and not to the first edition. The coincidence of the passages had been previously pointed out by Capell; but he quotes the French text, which he very absurdly supposes was made use of by Shakspere.

[e] See "Histoire des Choses Memorables advenues en la terre du Bresil, partie de l'Amerique Australe, sous le gouvernement de N. de Villeg. depuis l'an 1555, jusques à l'an 1558." 8o. 1561.

bility, that it was from the perusal of this chapter that Shakspere was led to make an uninhabited island the scene of his *Tempest*, and from the title "Of the *Caniballes*," as it stands in Florio, he has evidently, by transposition, (as remarked by Dr. Farmer) formed the name of his man-monster *Caliban*.

The copy of Montaigne's work in Mr. Patteson's hands has suffered in some degree from damp, so that the fly-leaves at the beginning and end have become loose, and the edges somewhat worn. On the top of the same page which contains Shakspere's autograph, are written in a smaller, and, in my opinion, a more recent hand, two short sentences from the Thyestes of Seneca, Act v. *cecidit incassū dolor*, and *vota nō faciam improba*. The same hand, apparently, has written on the fly-leaf at the end of the volume many similar Latin sentences, with references to the pages of Montaigne's work, from which they are all borrowed, such as *Faber est suæ quisq; fortunæ.—Festinatio tarda est.—Calamitosus est animus futuri anxius, etc.* Could we believe these to have proceeded from Shakspere's hand, they would acquire a high degree of interest, but after an attentive examination of them, I am persuaded they were added by a later pen, and in this opinion I have been confirmed by the judgment of other persons versed in the writings of that period. A very few marginal notes occur in the volume, at pp. 134, 254, 513, which are by the same hand, to which also in all probability we must assign the word "Thessayes," written in ink on the back of the volume. The binding is in its original state, and no doubt the same as when the book was read by Shakspere.

Having thus stated all I can collect relative to the history of this treasure, I must beg leave, before I conclude, to make a few remarks on the orthography of Shakspere's name, as written by himself.

There are five acknowledged genuine signatures of Shakspere in existence, exclusive of the one which forms the subject of this communication. Of these, three are attached to his will in the Prerogative Court, executed 25th March, 1515-16; the fourth is written on a mortgage deed, dated 11th March 1612-13, of a small estate purchased by Shakspere of Henry Walker, in Blackfriars; and the fifth on the counterpart of the deed of bargain and sale of the same property, dated 10th March, 1612-13.

From a comparison of these with each other and with the autograph now first brought forward, it is most certain, in my opinion, that the Poet always

wrote his name SHAKSPERE, and, consequently, that those who have inserted an *e* after the *h*, or an *a* in the second syllable, do not write the name (as far as we are able to judge) in the same manner as the Poet himself uniformly would authorise us to do. This I state in opposition to Chalmers and Drake, who assert that "all the genuine signatures of Shakspe*a*re are dissimilar."[f] Let us consider them separately, not according to the priority of dates, but in the order they were introduced to the notice of the public.

In the year 1776 George Steevens traced from the will of Shakspere the three signatures attached to it (one to each sheet), and they were engraved for the first time in the *second* edition of Shakspere by Johnson and Steevens, in 1778.[g] They have since been engraved in nearly all the subsequent editions; in Malone's "Inquiry," 1796; in Chalmers' "Apology," 1797; in Harding's "Essence of Malone," 1801; in Ireland's "Confessions," 1805; in Drake's "Shakspe*a*re and his Times," 1817; and lastly, in J. G. Nichols's "Autographs," 1829; in which work they are, for the second time, traced from the original document. The first of these signatures, subscribed on the first sheet, at the right-hand corner of the paper, is decidedly *William Shakspere*, and no one has ever ventured to raise a doubt respecting the six last letters.[h] The second signature is at the left-hand corner of the second sheet, and is also clearly *Will'm Shakspere*, although from the tail of the letter *h* of the line above intervening between the *e* and *r*, Chalmers would fain raise an idle quibble as to the omission of a letter. The third signature has been the

[f] "Apology," p. 426. Drake's "Shakspe*a*re and his Times," vol. i. p. 17, 4to. 1817, who servilely copies Chalmers, and never took the trouble to see the original.

[g] Mr. J. G. Nichols is therefore in error, when he supposes these signatures were first traced from the Will for Malone's "Inquiry," published in 1796. See his "Autographs of Remarkable Personages," fol. Lond. 1829. No. 11. B.

[h] From a close examination of the original, it appears that this first signature has been considerably damaged since Steevens's time, and two of the letters are no longer legible, as may also be seen in Nichols. It may be remarked, in addition, that Steevens has evidently confounded this signature with the name of *Shackspeare* written at the top of the same margin by the scrivener, and by doing so, has misled Dr. Drake, although he might have been taught better by Chalmers, "Apology," p. 426, note. As to Chalmers's notion (copied of course by Drake) that there is a *c* inserted before the *k*, it is not correct, and he has been misled by a straggling open *a*.

subject of greater controversy, and has usually been read *By me William Shakspeare.* Malone, however, was the first publicly to abjure this reading, and in his "Inquiry," p. 117, owns the error to have been pointed out to him by an anonymous correspondent, who "shewed most clearly that the superfluous stroke in the letter *r* was only the tremor of his (Shakspere's) hand, and no *a*." In this opinion, after the most scrupulous examination, I entirely concur, and can repeat with confidence the words of Mr. Boaden, that "if there be truth in sight, the Poet himself inserted no *a* in the second syllable of his name."[1] The only remaining remark I have to make respecting the will (which it is to be regretted, has never yet been printed as it ought to be, with the original orthography and interlineations) is, that the date of execution was written at first *Januarii* (not *Februarii*, as Malone states), over which *Martii* has been written, and that throughout the body of the document the scrivener has written the testator's name *Shackspeare*, whereas on the outside it is docketed twice by the clerk of the Prerogative Court as the will of Mr. *Shackspere.*

The next document is the mortgage deed, which was discovered in 1768 by Mr. Albany Willis, a solicitor, among the title deeds of the Rev. Mr. Featherstonehaugh, of Oxted, in Surrey, and was presented to Garrick. From the label of this, the fac-simile in Malone's edition of Shakspeare, 1790, was executed, bearing this appearance, *Wm Shakspᵃe;* and on this, in conjunction with the third signature of the will, was founded Malone's mistake in printing the name with an *a* in the second syllable. The deed was at that time in the possession of Mrs. Garrick; but in 1796, when Malone published his "Inquiry," and had become convinced of his error, and of the fault of his engraver, in substituting what looks like the letter *a* instead of *re*, (which it ought to be), the original document was missing, and could not be consulted for the purpose of rectifying

[1] "An Inquiry into the Authenticity of various portraits of Shakspeare," 4to. Lond. 1824, p. 62. I do not, however, agree with the author, that this circumstance is of itself an argument against the authenticity of the portrait of Shakspere in the possession of Mr. William Nicol, of Pall Mall. Since Boaden's publication the letters read *R. N.* on the portrait have turned out to be *R. B.* which, if they designate *Richard Burbage*, would prove Steevens to be in the right after all.

the mistake.[k] Malone has been very severely handled by Chalmers and the facetious George Hardinge, for this apparent inconsistency; but a few words may plead Malone's excuse. Steevens and himself, in 1778, resolved to exclude the *e* after the *k* in the poet's name, and accordingly the second edition of that year appeared with the title-pages so corrected, and the third edition of 1784, so corrected throughout. It was therefore only in reference to this *e* that Malone laid down the rule for its exclusion, in his edition of 1790, vol. i. pt. i. p. 192; for as to the *a*, its insertion at that time had not been questioned. In 1796, therefore, when Malone again touched on the subject, and declared against the *a* in the second syllable also, he by no means contradicts himself, but writes from the fuller evidence he had obtained on the subject.

This evidence forms the third document bearing Shakspere's signature, viz. the counterpart of the deed of bargain and sale, dated the day before the mortgage deed This also was found among Mr. Featherstonehaugh's evidences, and in 1796 was in the hands of Mr. Willis, who lent it to Malone, to print in his often quoted "Inquiry." Here the signature is, beyond all cavil or suspicion, *William Shakspe*r̄, where the mark above is the usual abbreviation of the period for the final *e*.[l]

To these we have now to add the autograph before us, in Florio's volume, which so unquestionably decides in favour of *Shakspere*, that in this manner I shall beg leave in future to write it, since I know no reason why we should not sooner take the poet's own authority in this point, than that of his friends or printers.[m]

At the same time it must be admitted, that if we disregard the form traced by the poet's own hand, the whole weight of printed evidence of his time

k Ireland states, "Confessions," p. 88, that this document was bequeathed by Garrick to the British Museum, which is not true. How it was lost remains, I believe, a mystery; but its production, I am firmly convinced, would corroborate the reading of *Shakspere*.

l See Malone, Pl. ii. No. x. Query, what has become of this document?

m To those deeply interested in the subject it may be as well to add, that the name of our poet both at his baptism and burial in the Stratford register is spelt *Shakspere*, and so are the names of other members of his family, between the years 1558 to 1593, and in the marriage licence recently discovered in the Consistorial Court of Worcester, it is spelt *Shagspere*, which, in effect, is the same thing.

(with few exceptions) is in favour of *Shakespeare*,[n] as still adhered to by Mr. Collier, whose recent discoveries and publications on the subject of Shakspere and his writings,[o] entitle him to the hearty thanks of every admirer of our great dramatic writer, both in England and abroad.

Here I might close my case; but a few words more may be requisite in regard to some other *presumed* specimens of Shakspere's handwriting. I would certainly not go so far as Malone in asserting, that if any other original letter or MS. of his should be discovered, his name would appear as just written;[p] but I think any variation would afford reasonable cause for suspicion. Since I commenced this paper, I have discovered that two other volumes claim the honour of containing Shakspere's autograph, *not* manufactured by Ireland. The first of these is a copy of Warner's Albion's England, 4to. 1612, which was bought at Steevens's sale in 1800, by Mr. Heber, and which is now in the British Museum. On the title page is "William Shakspeare his booke," and it will be evident to any one who takes the trouble of comparing it with the similar notorious forgeries of Ireland, on a copy of Holland's translation of Pliny, folio, 1601, and on Bartholomeus de Proprietatibus rerum, *Tho. Berthelet*, [1535] fol. in Sir Joseph Banks's library, that they all three are traced by the same hand. Whether Steevens had any hand in Ireland's fabrications, is a discussion foreign to my purpose; but I do not think it *very* improbable. The second claimant is a copy of Bacon's Advancement of Learning, 1605. In 1829, it was in the possession of Mr. Thomas Fisher, of the East India House, and is described as being "filled with MS. notes." It bears *in limine* the same signature as in Warner's work, and a fac-simile of it is given by Nichols, in his Autographs. From an inspection of this (for I have not seen the volume itself), I should unhesitatingly say, that the signature is a modern fabrication, and subsequent inquiry has placed the fact beyond all question.[q]

[n] See the evidence summed up, but not without many inaccuracies, in "Another Essence of Malone," 8vo. 1801, pp. 73-96, which was published anonymously by Geo. Hardinge.

[o] "New Facts regarding the Life of Shakespeare," &c. 12mo. 1835, and "New Particulars regarding the Works of Shakespeare," &c. 12mo. 1836.

[p] "Inquiry," p. 120.

[q] See Wheler's Guide to Stratford-upon-Avon, 12mo. 1834, p. 143, where mention is made of a forgery of Shakspere's name, executed by John Jordan, author of a local poem called "Welcombe Hills," which has recently been ascertained to be the one referred to in the text.

Only one document remains to be noticed, the genuineness of which, if established, would make even the autograph in Florio to "vail its bonnet." I allude to the copy of verses existing at Bridgewater House, signed "W. Sh." and printed by Mr. Collier, in his "New Particulars regarding the Works of Shakespeare." As far as the internal evidence goes, I do not see any reasonable objection against them; but, as no fac-simile has yet appeared of the original, it is impossible at present to offer any further remark. Mr. Collier urges their claim very modestly and fairly; but, as the paper *may* itself be a *transcript* of verses composed by Shakspere, some additional evidence is required, in regard to the handwriting, &c. to enable any critic in matters of this kind, to form an opinion.

I remain, my dear Sir,

yours very truly,

FREDERIC MADDEN.

JOHN GAGE, Esq. Director A.S.
&c. &c.&c.

X. "*A Description of the Province of Connaught,*" *dated in the month of* "*January*, 1612," *from a Volume of the Lansdowne Manuscripts, preserved in the British Museum,* N°. 255, *communicated by Sir* HENRY ELLIS, *K.H. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 9th March, 1837.

"CONNAGHT, by the antient division amonge the Irish, was accompted the fifte parte or Cocge of the Iland of Ireland, and was then and is still called by the name of Cocge Connaght, and contynewed the name and stile of a Kingdome in the posterity of Con Kedcagh, one of the three races discended of Mylle Spaynagh, whome all the Cronicles of Ireland agree to be the absolute conqueror of the whole island.

"The antyent borders of Connaght were towards the east and south the river of Shaenan, towards the west the Sea, and towards the north the river of Ballashennagh and the Loghe-Ecarne.

"Off this Cocg Coñaght, a porc̃on now called Thomond, lyinge towards the south, to the river of Shenan, whether by gift or conquest, hath beene a long time possest by the O'Brians, beinge discended of another race of Mylle Spaynagh, whoe at this daye enioye yt. The earle of Thomond beinge the cheeffe of that name. Yett it was helde within the governement of Connaght till the beginninge of his Maties raigne, to gratefie the Earle of Thomond. The Earle of Clanricard was contented it shold be devided from the government of Connaght.

"The residewe of Coñaght contynewed in the possession of the forenamed posterity of Con Kedcagh, the ancestor of O'Cono^r^ Dun, beinge king thereof, till the kingdom ceased by the conquest of the English.

"In the first conquest of Ireland duringe the reigne of Henry the second and King John, the English hadd litle ffootinge in Coñaght, leaving noe other remarqueable monument of their conquest, but the castle of Athlone at the east border of the province; and Roscomon six miles from the Shenan into the province.

"Afterward in the tyme of king Henry the third and (as it may be supposed) duringe the prosperity of Hubert de Burgo, Earle of Kent, and principal governor under that king, John de Burgo and Richard de Burgo, his sonnes, made an entry and conquest into Coñaght, by all likelyhood makinge their first attempte in the Bay of Galwaye; conquered upon the ô Heynes, the ô Shagnẽses towards Thomond, upon the Kellyes, the ô Maddyns, and the ô Conors towards the east, in some places as farr, and beyond the river of Sucke; from thence they caryed their conquest onwarde upon the M°Dermotts and M°Conolls, to the sea side as far as the river of Moye, the border now betweene the countyes of Maio and Sligoe, leavinge on theire left hande the ô Flaghertyes and the ô Malyes, and the Joyes, by reason of the streingth and desertness of theire contryes.

"All this conquested land Richard de Burgo held as a soveraigne lordeshipp, allotting great portions of lands to those that assisted him in the conquest, which ever since have contynewed in their posterytyes, and some of them were reputed Barrons of their contryes, as Bermingham barron of Athenry, Prendergast barron of Crosboghyn, now Clanmorris, Nangle barron of Bellahaunes, now called Costillo, Stannton, Barrett, and sondry others. The residewe he retayned to himselfe and his own name and race, who are devided into many families of great continuance and revenewe.

"Off Richard de Burgo descended the earles of Ulster, whose heier was marryed to Lyonell Duke of Clarence, and the now earle of Clanricard, who possesseth the auncyent howse, and honorable marques of that conquest.

"The residew of Coñaught that preserved themselves from the Englyshe contynewed in the hands of the ancyent Irish lords, the cheefe of whom were the three races of the ô Conors, as ô Conor Dun, and ô Coñor Roe whoe now possesseth the Maghry of Conaght, and ô Coñor Sligoe, who tooke upon him to make head against the English at the river of Moye, and hath since reteyned

the cheeffe comaund over the Irish in these parts, that are now called the county of Sligoe.

"The ô Heynes were utterly banished; the ô Shaghnesses remayne a rich and hable family; the ô Maddens reteyne a fast contry nere the Shenan, called Shilandye, where they contynewe but a weake and poore family. The ô Kellys retayned a lardge contry called Imanny, from within fifteen myles of Galwaie to the Shenan, and doe yet possess the most parte of it. The ô Flaghatyes reteyned the contry of Eyrecoñaght west from Galwaie, alonge the baye of Galwaie and the west sea. The O'Malyes reteyned the Owles lyinge on the sowth parte of the county of Maio, towards Eyrtcoñaght, and bordereth on the west sea. The O'Dowds, the McDonoghes, the O'Haraes, and the O'Hartes reteyned the residewe of the county of Sligoe, besides that which O'Coñor Sligoe held. The O'Rowrkes, McGlanaggyes, and their followers reteyned all the county of Leytrym, to the borders of Vlster, upon the countyes of Fermanagh and Cavan. The McDermotts reteyned all the residewe of the county of Rosscoman, northe from the O'Coñors unto the borders of Sligoe and Leytryme.

"Within Conaght there were aunciently many bishops' seas, which are now by union brought to one archbishopprick, whose sea is at Tuam, three bishoppricks, whose seas are Clonfort united to Kilmacough, Kilalla vnited to Ardconragh, and Elphine.

"Vntil the beginning of the reigne of Queen Elizabeth the ordinary justice of the Kingdome hadd litle passage in Conaght, the English races remayninge under the rule of the Bowrks, and the Irishry under the cheeffes of every particular septe, the whole province bearinge the name of the county of Cõnaght, whereof there was one sherriffe whom the people little respected, at what time the said Queene erected a presideall seate, and establyshed a president and councell, for the administration of justice within the province, and devided yt into five shyers, which ordynance contynewes unto this tyme.

"The five shiers are Roscoman, Galway, Mayo, Sligoe, and Leytrym.

"The county of Roscoman bordereth on the east to the river of Shenan, on the sowth and west to the countyes of Galwaye and Mayo, on the north and north-west to the counties of Sligoe and Leytrym.

"The countie of Galwaie bordereth on the east, partly to the river of Shenan,

and part to the river of Suck, on the sowth to the county of Clare, called Thomond, on the sowth-west and sowth to the baye of Galwaie and the sea, on the north and north-west to the county of Mayo.

"The county of Mayo lyeth on the east to the county of Roscoman, on the sowth and sowth-east to the county of Galwaie, on the west to the sea, on the north to the county of Sligoe.

"The county of Sligoe bordereth on the east and sowth-east to the counties of Leytrym and Roscoman, on the sowth to the county of Maio, on the west to the sea, on the north to the river of Bellashañagh, and the counties of Donegall and Fermanagh.

"The county of Leytrym lyeth on the east to the counties of Cavan and Longford, on the sowth to the ryver of Shenan and the county of Roscoman, on the west to the county of Sligoe, on the northe to the county of Fermanagh.

"The county of Roscoman hath none of the ancyent Englysh races, only a little porc̃on on the east of the river of Sucke belonginge to McDauye, one of the Bowrks; of new Englysh, Malbye whoe hath the manner of Roscoman, S^{r} Jo. King the Abbay of Boyle, Brabazon whoe hath Ballinesloe, the heiers of Sr Thomas Lestrange, whoe have the Lordship of Atheige, and some others seated there and since the warres. Off Englysh transported out of the pale, the Barron of Dalvin and some of the Nugents, Sr Theobald Dillon, and dyvers others. Off the Irishrye, O'Coñor Dun, and O'Coñor Roe, and the McDermotts, the O'Kellyes, by east the Sucke, the O'Hanlyes, the O'Flanegans, the Fallons, the Naghtons, and dyvers others.

"The county of Galwaie hath of ancyent Englysh, the Earl of Clanricard, whoe hath all Clanricard to himselfe and his kinsmen and followers; Birmingham, Barron of Athenry, whoe, though he hath his name of honor in Clanricard, yet he hath his country in the barrony of Dunmore apart. Off new Englysh none, nor any English transported out of the pale. Off Irishrye the O'Shaghneses, the O'Maddens, the O'Kellyes, by west the Sucke, the O'Flaghertyes, the O'Heynes, the Donellans, and other inferyor septes.

"The county of Mayo hath of ancient Englysh the Bowrks, that contynewed the name of McWilliam till yt was by the composic̃on abolyshed. The Prendergasts, called now McCostelloes, the Dexters called McJordans, the Stantons called McEvillyes, the Barretts called McPadins, the Rotchforts, and many

other inferior septes of the Bowrks, as the McMoylers, the McGibbons, the McPhillippins, and sondry others. Off new Englysh, John Moore who hath the contry of Clanmorris, and some of the Binghams. Off Englysh transported out of the pale, the Earle of Ormond, whoe hath Burresowle, Sr Tibbot Dillon, whoe hath the contry of Clancostilloe, the Bowens, and some others. Off Irishrye none but the O'Mayles, whoe possess the wast contry of the Owles.

"The county of Sligoe hath of ancyent or new Englyshe, none. Off Englysh transported out of the pale, Sr William Taaffe, whoe hath the towne and abaye of Sligoe, and the lordshipp of Ballymote, some of the Nugents, and others. Off Irishry O'Connor Sligoe, the McDonoghes, the O'Dowdes, the O'Haraes, the O'Hartes, some of the McSwines, and others.

"The county of Leytrym hath neither ancyent nor new Englysh, nor any transported from the pale. Off Iryshry, O'Rowrke and those that live under him, as the McRanells, the Clonloghims, the Clanmurryes, the Clanowens, and such others; and McGlanaghy, who possesseth the Dartrye, and is a lord of himselfe.

"This province hath only two corporacons, the ancient monuments of the English conquerors, and inhabited only by English famylyes and surnames.

"The one is Galwaie, a walled towne and porte of the sea, lately made a county, and governed by a mayor and two sherryffes; the town is small but all of fayer and stately buildinges, the fronts of theire howses towards the streets, beinge all of hewed stone, upp to the topp, and garnyshed with fayer battlements in an uniforme cowrse, as if the whole towne hadd beene builte upon one modell. The merchants are riche and great adventurers at sea; their comunaltye is composed of the descendants of the ancyent Englyshe founders of the towne, and rarely admitt any new Englysh to have freedome or education amonge them, and never any of the Irish. They keepe goode hospitallity and are kind to strangers, and in their manner of entertaynement and in fashioning and apparellinge themselves and their wives, doe most preserve the ancyent manner and state of any town that ever I sawe. The towne is built upon a rocke envyroned almost with the sea and the ryver, compassed with a stronge wall, and good defences, after the auncient manner, and such as with a fewe men it may defend itself against any army.

"The other is Athenrye, eight myles from Galwaie into the land, and as it is said elder than yt. A towne, as it seemes, built by the Englysh Conquerors whiles they hadd their swords in their hands, and kept themselves close in garryson against the attempts of the Irish. But after the English hadd planted themselves in strong castles abrode, and left their holds, the towne became to be abandoned, and vtterly decayed, and now hath very small and poore habitacõn and people, yet the walls stand still large in compass, and very strong and fayer.

"There are in this Province many fayer and cõmodyous havens and inlets from the sea, whereof great vse and proffit may be made, whereas they nowe remayne for the moste parte neglected and vnprofitable, and open for any enemy to possess at his pleasure.

"The first and sowthermost is the baye of Galwaie, an inlett of thirty or forty myles into the land, and almost twenty myles broade at the entrye, havinge in the middest thereof the Isles of Aaron; betweene theis Islands and the roade of Galwaie any shipp may ride at tenn or twelve fathome, and yf the wind blowe heare at sowth and sowthwest, they must of necessity come to ancker in the roade of Galwaie, where the greatest shipp may come and ryde at all weathers without dainger; within this roade there lyeth a small Islande called Mutton Island, where a platform with a fewe peeces of artyllery may at pleasure sincke any shipp or force her on the rockes. The forte of Galwaie may likewise beate this roade, and that ffoarte is of excellent use, both for the comaundinge of the towne, and for giving annoyance or favo^{r} to such shippes as shall road there.

"Towards the north-west shoare, betweene the roade of Galwaie and the Isles of Aaron in the same baye, is an harborough called the Ketlinge; the entry is so deepe as the greatest shipp of his Maties may come in at lowe water, and runne vpp three myles without dainger, and ryde at tenn fathom water and good ground, and of capacity to receave fower hondreth shippes. From this harborough an enemy may, in six howers, marche to the west gate of Galwaie, and finde nothing in his way to resyst him; the harborough maye be secured by buildinge a ffoarte on the west side of the entrye, which may comaund any vessell that comes there, and all the harbrogh. Here is a good fysshinge for hearing and salmon.

"Next to the Ketlinge sowthward is the road in the Isles of Aaron called St. Gregory's sound, where an hundred Shippes of good burthen may ryde at any tyme. An enemy possessinge this sound may be master of all the Isles of Aaron (which are well inhabited) and comaund all the baye. It may be secured by buildinge a fourte in the greate Island, and be of greate vse and ymportance. It was heretofore projected, and the late Queene gave a liberall allowance of land and comaund for the doeinge of yt; but, accordinge to the vsuall fate of this Kingdome, it was not looked after, and soe cast awaye. The Englyshe, Brittenes, and Portugalls, in tymes past, hadd a greate trade of fyshinge here, for Codd, Linge, Hake, and Conger, which wold contynew still yf yt were vndertaken.

"The next harborough northwest from the Isles of Aaron, is Enmy's Duffin, comonly called the blacke Rocke, a small entry and daingerous for a shipp above a hundred tonnes, but, beinge in, an houndred shippes may ryde quiettly, from twelve fathome to three fathome. A small Fourte will secure and comaund this whole roade; here is a good fyshinge for Codd and Linge, and much frequented by His Majesty's subjects and others.

"The next harborough where any shippinge may come in, is an Island, called Rocland, north from Blackrock, an ill place to ventur upon without a pylott from Blackrock. Under this Island a shipp may ride from twenty fathome to three fathome; and a Forte there will secure and comaund the roade; yt is a good fyshinge and plentifull for Codd, Linge, &c. and much haunted by English and Dutch.

"Next towards the North, is the Bay of Ballycroane in Erris, greate and spacious, but noe Shippinge will willingly come there yf they can get any other harborough; the Bay is so broad as noe forte from land can forbidd any shippinge to road there. The fyshinge is very good, but they must be forced still to keepe the deepes and ancker at noe less than ten fathome, becawse the shoares on both sydes are fowle and rocky.

"North-west from that Baye, lyeth the Island of Enniskey, where good numbers of small shippinge may roade, at three fathome water. A small Foarte in the Island may secure and comaund all the roade, and yet is the best and plentyfullest fyshinge of all the West of Ireland.

"Next to that northward is Inver, commonly called the broad haven, so yt

is broad within, but the entry such as a Poarte with artillery, on the sowth parte of the harborough, may sincke any vessell. Three hondred sayle may roade here without annoying one an other. The fyshinge is good and plentyfull for Codd, Linge, Hearinge, &c.

"The next harborough northward is Moyne in Tyrawlye, where noe good shipp of burthen cann enter farther then the Baye without, where on the west syde good stoare of shippinge maye ryde in a lardge and salfe roade, from twenty fathome to sixe fathome, and no wynd to wronge them but from the north-west, with which they may safely go to sea, if yt overblow. This Bay is so wide as no Fortification can secure or defend yt. Here is a great ffyshinge of Salmon and Hearinge, &c.

"The next and last towards the north is that of Sligoe, where a shipp of two hondred tonne may enter, so she bring her tyde with her. The roade is between the small Islands and the Mayne at eight fathome water. A small Foarte in the Island would comaund this roade, and yt hath an excellent fyshinge for Codd and Linge without, and for Salmon within.

"The ryuer of Shenan, dividinge most parte of the Province of Coñaught from the Irysh Coñtryes of Leinster, hath many foards and passadges which are needfull to be knowne and cared for, for the better orderyng of yt in all tymes of troble or rebellyon.

"There are from Carra Drumrusk (towards the heade of the Shenan, betweene the County of Roscoman and the County of Leytryme, and where His Majestie hath a Foarte and a Warde) unto Portumna my Lo. of Clanriccards house betweene the County of Galwaye and Ormond, almost thirty foards that are passable in the soñer, almost all, savinge Portumna and one or two aboute it. But the moste to be respected are Carra Drumrusk, which is already secured by His Majesties forte; next to that Ballalenge, which was intended to be secured, and a ward placed there, and money allowed for the rebuildinge of an ancient forte built by the first Conquerors, but Sr Patrick Barnewalls works over agaynst yt hath devoured the Kinges forte, and so yt is nowe quitted.

"Athlone hath his Majesties Castle, and a bridge, anciently made by the English, and rebuilte in the government of Sir Henry Sidney.

"The next to that, of importance, is the passadge of Agha-Croghe upon

McCoghlanes Contrye, which lyes open, and is noysome to that parte of the Province.

"There are two more at Mellicks and Portumna, both my Lo. of Clanricards, and well secured by his Lordships Castells.

"The rest, though they be at some tymes passable, yett are less used and nothing so hurtfull to the Province.

"The Government of Connaught (conformable to the other parts of the Kingdome) is by the comon lawes and statutes of the Realme, resortinge to the Chauncery and other Courtes at Dublin, and to the Justices of Assize and Gaol delivery in their Circuitts.

"The Gouernment extraordinary is consigned into the hands of a President, and Vice-president in his absence, whoe hath the absolute marshall power within the Province, and comaund of the warres, unlesse the Lo. Deputie come into the Province.

"For the Civill parte, he hath a boddy of Councellors, who with him are aucthorysed to heare and order civil complaints, after the manner and rule of the Presidencye of Wales. He hath for his Assistantes a Justice and an Atturneye learned in the lawes, and a Clarke of the Councell to order the pleadings, a Sergeant at Armes to attend him and execute his Comaundements, and a gentlemen Porter to keep the Prysoners.

"His Majestys ordinary chardge within the Province, as I gather by estimacyon, not farre erring from the certenty, is:

"The entertaynment of the Lo. President for hymself and his retynewe, and for the maintayninge of a diett for the Councell, amounteth to nyne hundred pounds sterlinge per annum.

"The Justice his fee one hundred pounds sterling per annum.

"The Kinges atturney twenty pounds sterling per annum.

"The Clerke of the Councell twenty pounds sterling per annum.

"The Sergeant at Armes and Gentleman Porter, beinge both executed by one man, twenty pounds sterling per annum.

"There are other officers residing within the Province, as

"The Clarke of the Assises and of the Peace, beinge in one mañes hande throughout the Province. His fee twenty pounds sterling per annum:

"A Provost-Marshall, whose enterteignement amounteth to one hondred pounds sterlinge per annum:

"A Comyssary of Victualls, his enterteynem^t^ at an hondred and twenty pounds sterling per annum:

"A Clarke of the Municoñ at fforty pounde ster. per annū.

"The Garryson, as well ordinary as extraordinary, nowe in entertaynement within the Province, vizt.

"A band of Horsemen consisting of twenty-five, vnder the coñaund of the Lo: President, theire entertaynement amounting to ffive hondred and fyfty pounds sterling per annum: and twelve horsemen to attend the Provost Marshall, amounting to two hondred and twenty pounds sterling per annum. There are also three bands of ffootemen, consisting each of fyfty, under the comaund of the Lo: President, Sir Oliver S^t^. John Vice-president, and Sr Thomas Rotherham Captaine of the Fourte of Galwaie: theire whole enterteynem^t^ amountinge to one thousand eight hondred pounds sterling per annum.

"Also his Majestie maintaynes a ward in the Castle of Athlone, consisting of a Constable and twenty warders, whose enterteynements amounte to two hondred pounds sterlinge per annum.

"And a warde at Berishowle in the county of Maio, consisting of a Constable and ten wardors, theire enterteynements amountinge to one hondred and twenty pounds sterling per annum.

"And a warde at Carra-Drumrusk, a passage at the upper end of the river of Shenan, between the Counties of Roscoman and Leytrym, consisting of a Constable and nine wardors, their entertaynement amounting to one hondred and tenn pound per annum.

"And a ward at Ballinefadd, at the passadge of the mountayne of the Curlewes into the County of Sligoe, consysting of a Constable and tenn wardors at one hondred and twenty pounds sterling per annum.

"Also a Commyssary of the Musters within the Province, at fortye (pound) sterlinge per annum.

"And twoe gunners, the one in the Foarte of Galwaye, the other at the Castell of Athlone, theire enterteynement amounting betweene them to fforty pound ster. p annum.

"And so His Majestys whole chardge within the province of Cõnaght, ordynary and extraordinary, as well for the civill as the marshall parte, as yt now

standeth, according to this estymate amounteth to fower thousand five hondred and forty pounds sterlinge per annum.

"His Majesties revenewe, ordynary and extraordinary, within the Province, besides casualtyes, as first fruits, forfeitures, excheats, wardshippes, fynes, and amercyaments, consysts of auncyent revenewes, composicion in lewe of cesse, customes outwards and inwards, and impost of wynes.

"The ancyent revenue with the rent of Abbayes amounteth communibus annis to fower hundred pounds sterling. The Composicõn in lewe of cess, after the rate of tenn shillings every quarter chardgeable and inhabyted, amounteth to (this yeare) two thousand and fower hondred pounds sterling. The Cus tomes of the 20th parte in Galwaie, and other partes in the province, two hondred pounds sterling per annum. The impost of wynes, six hondred pounds sterling per annum. The Casualtyes, which are yett meanely looked into, communibus annis two hondred pounds sterling.

"Soe the whole revenewes, ordynary and extraordynary, according to this estymatt as now they growe, amount to three thowsand eight hondred pound ster. per annum.

"And so His Majestie stands chardged in Conaght, over and above the revenewe there by this estymate, seaven hondred and forty pounds sterling per annum, which with good care may easily be gotten and much more."

XI. *A further Account of the original Architecture of Westminster Hall. In a Letter from* Sydney Smirke, *Esq. F.S.A. to Sir* Henry Ellis, *K.H. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 2nd February, 1837.

Dear Sir, 12, Regent Street, January 1837.

SINCE the date of my last communication to you respecting the restoration of Westminster Hall now in progress under the direction of my brother, Sir Robert Smirke, the interior of that building has been completed, and the exterior is now under the hands of the mason. You will remember, that in the course of the internal repair, I stated that a vast number of carved stone fragments of the older Norman Hall were met with, which had been used in some cases as ashlaring for the new face given to the walls from the string-course upwards in the reign of Richard II., but in most cases merely as rubble for filling up and rendering solid those parts which had been previously void. Some of these fragments of the original building, however, had remained undisturbed in their proper positions; for it does not appear that those who were employed in renovating the Hall at the last mentioned period gave themselves the trouble to move more stones than was absolutely necessary in order to effect their alterations. By means of these undisturbed remains it has been an easy task to compose a complete restoration of one side of the Norman Hall, a drawing of which I have the pleasure to forward to you.

Very little of this restoration is imaginary; for, except the position of one or two of the arches, there were seen either on one side of the Hall or the other, stones enough in their original places fully to bear out all I have attempted to show on this drawing. The remarkable irregularity in the position of the smaller arches would be scarcely supposed probable, if the evidence of it was not decisive and indisputable; but I must own myself at a loss to account for

such apparently gratuitous deviations from uniformity; although it is possible that the situation of adjacent pre-existing buildings, or perhaps indeed some internal arrangements of the Hall, of which we have now no knowledge, may have caused the anomaly.

With regard to the north and south ends of the Hall, the immense windows formed at the close of the fourteenth century have obliterated the greater part of the original work. At the north end no trace of Norman work presented itself; although I should add, that, as it was not found necessary to repair much of the masonry at this end, the interior of the Hall here did not undergo so searching an examination as the other parts of the Hall underwent.

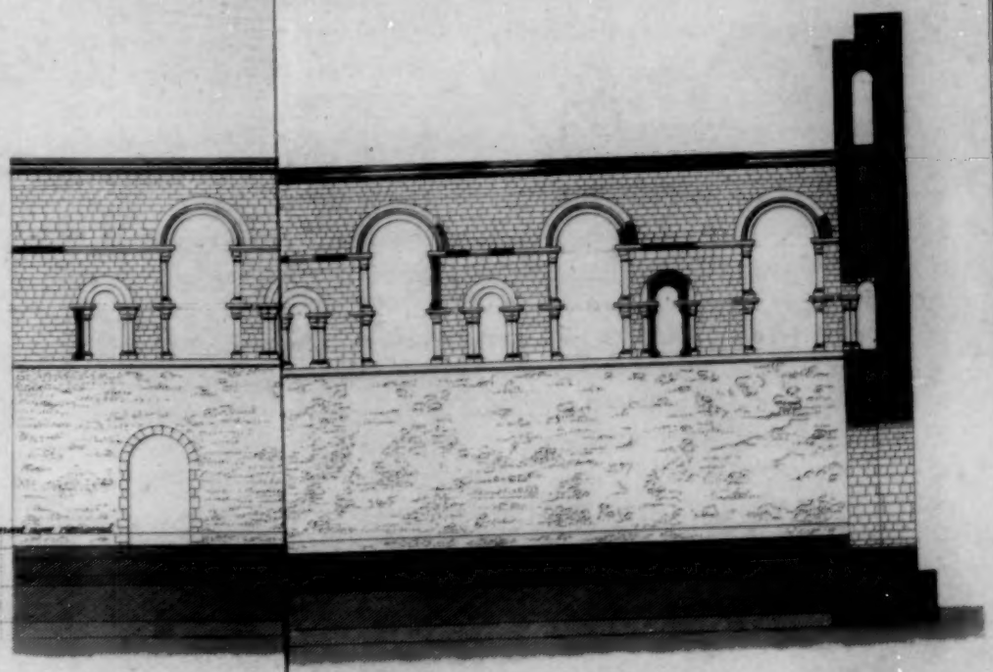
At the south end there was unquestionable evidence that the clerestory, and the arched passage on a level with it, was originally continued along this end, uniformly with the two sides of the Hall; above these there were also found remnants of another arched passage obtained in the thickness of the wall, at this south end, and connected with the turret stair at the south-east angle of the Hall, adjacent to the north-west angle of St. Stephen's Chapel. It is not very apparent what was the use of this last mentioned passage; the floor of it was at, or about, the level of the top of the side-walls when at their original height; therefore it seems scarcely possible that this passage could have had any connection with the interior of the Hall. It seems the most probable conjecture that, as the roof of the Hall was no doubt gabled either in *one* great span, as at present, (which is not likely,) or in *three* spans, (which appears to me most probable,) this passage may have been merely destined to give a ready means of communication between the gutters on the two opposite sides of the building.

I have shewn on the accompanying section, the moulded cornice on the top of the wall, which was found pretty nearly entire: its mouldings forbid us to ascribe them to the earliest work of the Hall; but, as the ashlared facing of the fourteenth century was built up against it, and in a great measure concealed it, it is to be inferred that the cornice is of some date intermediate between the early Norman work and the restorations in Richard the Second's reign.

I will now proceed to notice the partial restorations in progress on the exterior of the building:

In removing the decayed stonework of the great buttresses, and of the out-

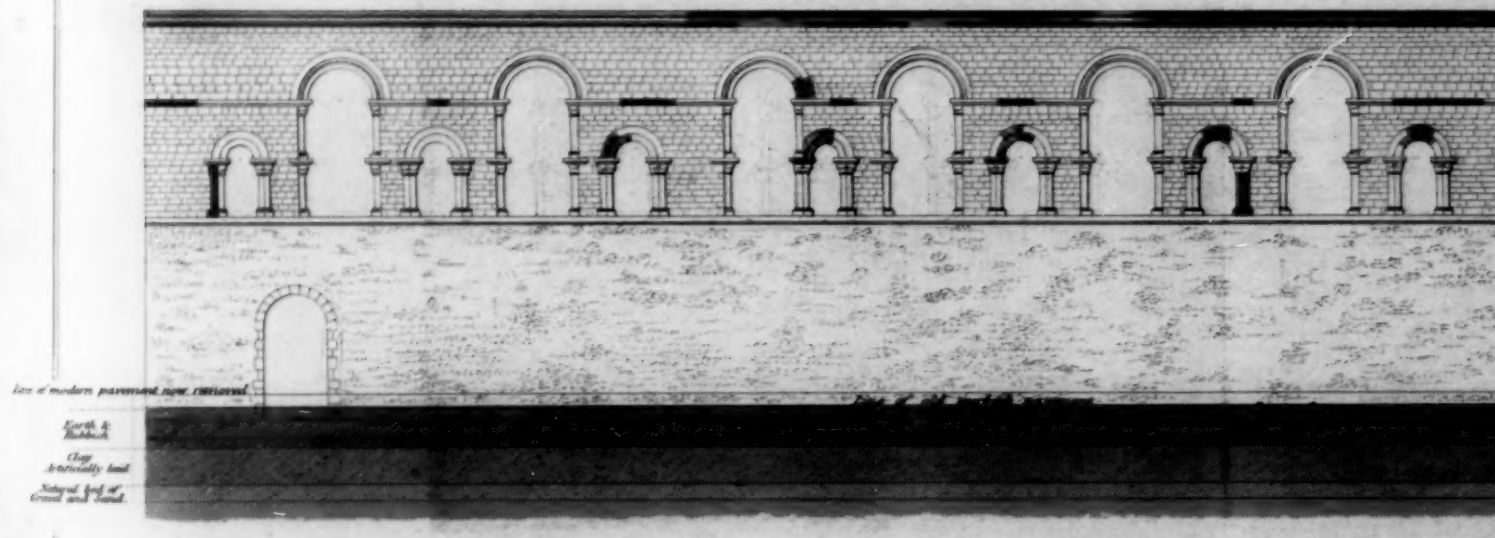
Vol. XXVII. Plate XII. p. 136.



J. Basire. sculp.

Longitudinal Section of

Shewing a conjectural restoration o
appeared previously to the alteration

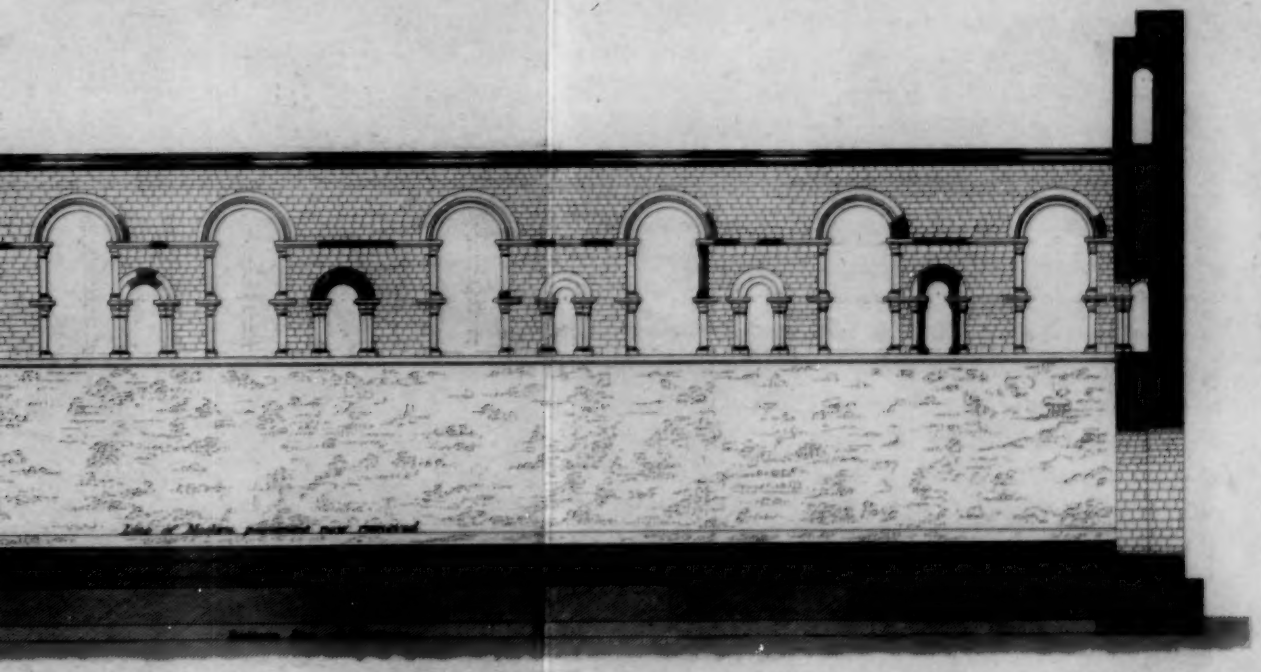


The portions of Stone work distinguished
are those which have been found in situ
the restoration of the remaining parts.
is afforded by similar portions on the opp

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of Lond

Westminster Hall.

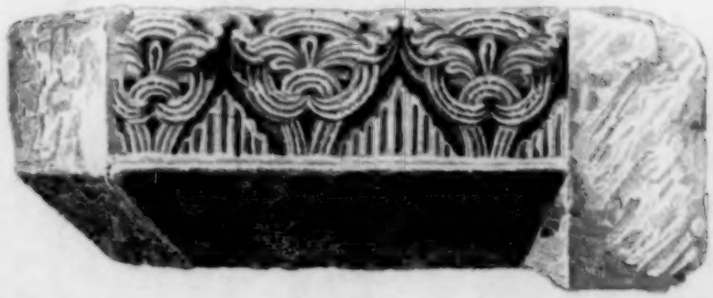
of the East Side as it
ions in the 14th Century.



ed by a strong Tint
itu and which have suggested
s. Additional evidence
opposite side.

P. Basire. sculp.

London. April 15th 1837



Capitals belonging to the Norman Building of Westminster Hall.

J. Buckler delin.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 25th 1833

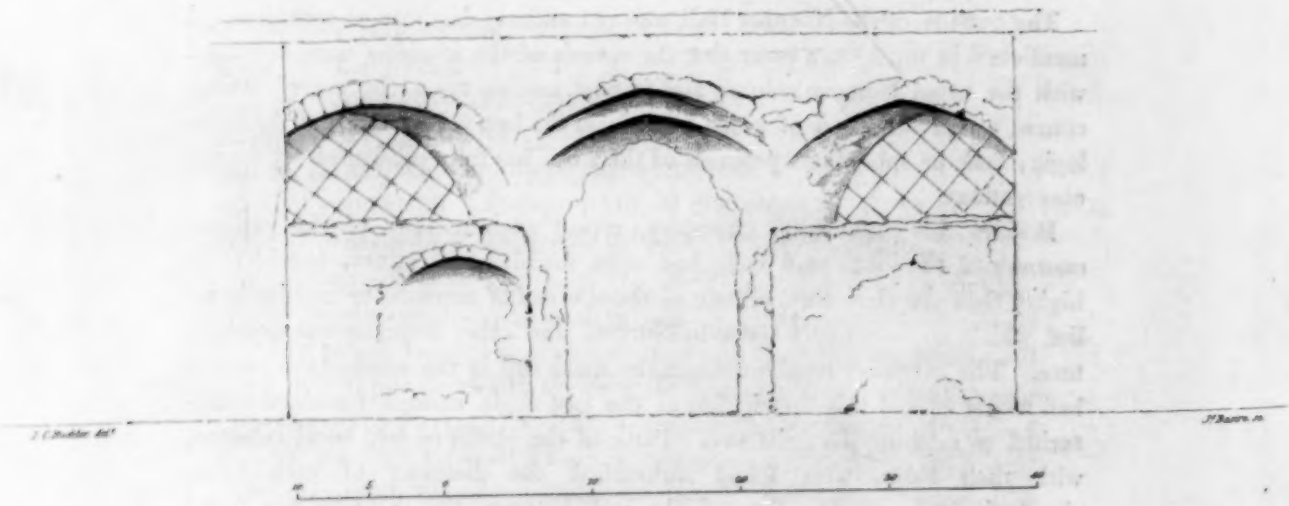
side face of the main walls, many more remnants of the old Hall were discovered, which had been used and built in with their carved and moulded parts inwards, and their squared backs or beds outwards, exactly as I have formerly described similar fragments to have occurred within the Hall. I send you some of the more perfect of these fragments, for the inspection of the Society. One of the capitals represents an armed man assailing a castle; at least that seems the most probable explanation of this rude sculpture: the subject of the carving on the other capital appears to be taken from Æsop's fable of the dog and the ass; on one side is the dog fauning on his master, who is leaning over and patting him, and two attendants are looking on; on the other face of the capital is seen the ass putting his fore legs on the master's shoulders, the latter turning to escape from the unwelcome caress, whilst of the two attendants one is beating the ass with a stick. The third fragment is a rather elegant fret, in so good a state of preservation as to lead us to believe that in its original position it had not been exposed to the weather: no similar carving has occurred in any part of the walls, and I have no clue whatever to its former position.

The outside of the Norman Hall was not entirely destitute of ornament. I mentioned in my former letter that the reveals of the windows were decorated with the usual Norman column and impost, resting upon the carved string-course, a representation of which is given in the last volume of the Archæologia; and the subsequent progress of the work has fully confirmed my former observations.

Besides this ornamental clerestory, recent examinations of the external masonry of the south end have laid open decisive indications, considerably higher than the clerestory, of one of those series of recesses, or arcades in relief, which so commonly occur in Norman and other Romanesque architecture. The extensive repairs done to the south end in the seventeenth century had nearly effaced this arcade, but at the east angle enough remained undisturbed to establish its existence. Parts of the shafts of two small columns, with their bases, were found untouched, the diameter of each being about six inches. The face of the wall between the columns was found to have been reticulated work, similar to that which occurs on the west end of Rochester cathedral, and in other buildings of corresponding date both

in England and on the Continent, and which is one of the most cogent evidences of the classic derivation of the Romanesque style. The stones which composed this reticulated work are about seven inches square, varying in depth on their bed from seven to nine inches. They are alternately of Caen stone and Reigate stone, so that, as the former is a bright-coloured material, and the latter grey, the work when new must have had a chequered appearance, resembling, although in a less degree, the parti-coloured masonry observable in the medieval architecture of the north of Italy.

It is worthy of notice here, that in 1822, when the exterior of the north end of the Hall was undergoing restoration, Mr. J. C. Buckler informs me, that behind the ornamental porch which was built up against the old north wall at the end of the fourteenth century, he observed portions of three large arches. The centre one had been nearly cut away in forming the great doorway, but the two side arches had their circular heads but little disturbed; they appeared to have been blank, and to have been filled in with reticulated masonry like



N. Front.—Westminster Hall.
March. 1822.

that which I have stated to have been recently exposed to view at the south end; these three arches were soon again concealed from view by the progress of the restoration, but Mr. Buckler availed himself of the opportunity thus temporarily afforded him, of making a slight sketch of this part of the Norman Hall in its earliest state, a copy of which, kindly communicated to me by him, I beg to exhibit to the Society.

In concluding this short notice, I cannot refrain from congratulating those who are interested in the architectural history of this country, on the timely and substantial repair which the liberality of Parliament has bestowed upon this great monument.

Time, and a series of alterations executed without due caution, had put this Hall in greater jeopardy than a superficial view would have led one to suppose. The side walls were in some places considerably out of the perpendicular; and formidable fissures cleft the whole substance of the walls, both at the north-east angle and near the south end of the west side. At the latter spot a hollow space was found to have been left in the masonry, capacious enough to admit several men, almost exactly over which was imposed one of the huge trusses of the roof. These defects, added to the indifferent execution of the original masonry throughout, had produced, and were producing, effects which at no distant period might have been attended with serious consequences.

There is now no reason to doubt that posterity, for many years to come, will have the gratification of contemplating Westminster Hall in all its integrity; unless, indeed, the contiguity of the proposed Parliamentary buildings should render necessary those very extensive alterations to which it is, I believe, intended to subject this Hall.

I remain, dear Sir,

very faithfully yours,

SYDNEY SMIRKE.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., F.R.S.
Secretary.

XII. *Observations on the Roman Remains found in various parts of London, in the years* 1834, 1835, 1836. *By Mr.* Charles Roach Smith, *communicated in a letter to* A. J. Kempe, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read 17th March, 1836.

Lothbury, February 25, 1836.

Sir,

At the close of the year 1834, my attention was drawn to the excavations then in progress for sewers, and foundations of houses, in the extensive City improvements, from conviction, founded on former observations, but which opportunity did not then admit my taking advantage of, that the projected line of work at depths varying from twenty to fifty feet, could not fail to afford the means for obtaining some additional and corroborating information illustrative of the ancient occupation of the soil; and, finding that investigation was likley to be attended with some little success, I persevered in examining with all possible diligence the several excavations, and now submit to your notice, though necessarily in an abridged shape, an account of the result of my labours. I shall venture no further on your patience than will be consistent with recording the principal features in the City discoveries, without theorising or wandering from a statement of facts.

The vicinity of St. Michael's Church afforded in 1832 the materials for your interesting paper, printed in the twenty-third volume of the Archaeologia.

I commence my narrative in the same neighbourhood.

On either side of King William Street, at a depth ranging from fourteen to twenty feet, the evidences of Roman habitations became numerous.

Walls built with rough unhewn pieces of chalk (cemented by the firm mortar peculiar to Roman edifices), and containing in many instances an admixture of flints, were from time to time made visible. These walls apparently ran

underneath the above-named street, or at all events partially intersected it; but whether a connexion existed between the discernible intersections no means were afforded for ascertaining, as the excavations were so irregularly carried on, and the superintendants of the works unhappily disposed to raise every impediment in their power against investigation. I may however affirm that no highway was at any period during my attendance rendered perceptible in the line of King William Street: on the contrary, everything seemed to demonstrate that this district was closely occupied by dwelling-houses.

Wells of chalk filled with earth, mixed with broken tiles, pottery, and animal remains, were frequently laid open; and in every direction, on both sides of the lately-formed street, an abundance of handles and mouths of amphoræ, fragments of the commoner kinds of earthen vases and urns, together with the Samian pottery, were met with incessantly.

Adjoining St. Clement's Church, at about twelve feet beneath the present level, ran a tessellated pavement, composed of pieces of red brick of about an inch or an inch and quarter long, and three quarters of an inch wide, corresponding with fragments lately discovered in East Cheap at about an equal depth, connected probably with some public building or dwelling-house of the better class, on or near the site of St. Clement's Church.

A precisely similar pavement occurred in Lothbury, which may with like reason be supposed to branch off from a building (by some considered the Prætorium of the Roman Station) that occupied the position of the Bank of England.

Near St. Clement's Church were found many vessels of the common brown and black earth, but mostly in a fractured state. They are such as were in general use among the Romans for domestic purposes, and probably were of colonial manufacture; for it seems unlikely that, when materials might have been had merely for the pains of digging, and no particular trouble or ingenuity was required to mould or fashion them, the unnecessary expense of importation should have been incurred. They are usually met with wherever Roman remains are discovered, and possess great variety of form and quality, though the material seldom equals the design and workmanship of acknowledged specimens from Italy or Greece.

The vicinity of St. Clement's Church produced six small earthen lamps, much Samian ware, both figured and plain, rings of base metal, and coins. One of

the rings had been gilded, and was set with an engraved turquoise, on which was represented what appeared to be an augural priest feeding a cock.

The soil in this neighbourhood is very unfavourable to the preservation of coins. Many have been found, but they are generally half eaten by rust, and the inscriptions seldom to be rendered legible. They chiefly consist of the second-brass of Claudius, Vespasian, and Domitian, with base denarii of Severus, Caracalla, Alexander Severus, and Julia Mamaea.

These denarii are of the very worst description of the various forged and adulterated species of that age, and are composed of brass or a mixture of common metals, with merely a thin coating of silver, and generally bear the commonest reverses. They are found throughout London. A second-brass coin of Julia Mamaea was in the mouth of one of the smaller earthen bottles found adjacent to St. Clement's Church.

As the excavations approached Prince's Street (which bounds the Bank of England on the west) the soil denominated, by those familiar with the London strata, *Roman*, descended to a much greater depth than either at East Cheap, at Newgate Street, or at the London Wall near Finsbury. From the level of the present street I should say that thirty feet would scarcely limit its depth, and the extent may be pronounced equal to the length of the west side of the Bank. Here it assumed also a different appearance, being much more moist, highly impregnated with animal and vegetable matter, and almost of an inky blackness in colour. It is worthy of note, that the same character is applicable to the soil throughout the line of excavation from Prince's Street to the London Wall at Finsbury, though no where did I observe it extend to such a depth as at the former place. Throughout the same line, also, were at intervals noticed a vast and almost continuous number of wooden piles, which in Prince's Street were particularly frequent, and where also they descended much deeper. The nature of the ground, and the quantity of these piles, tend to strengthen the probability of a channel having existed in this direction, draining off the water from the adjoining marshes, and that too (from the numerous Roman remains accompanying these indications) at a very remote period. The course of the ancient Wallbrook is described by Stowe as passing through the City by this route: "From the north to the south, this City was of old time divided, not by a large highway or street, (as from east to west) but by a fair brook of sweet water, which came from out the north fields through the wall, and midst of the city,

into the river of Thames, and which division is, till this day, constantly and without change maintained.

"This water was called Wallbrook, not Gallus-brook, (as some have fabled, from a Roman Captain slain by Asclepiodatus, and thrown therein,) but from running through and from the wall of this City.

"The course whereof, to prosecute it particularly, was and is from the said wall to St. Margaret's Church in Lothbury, from thence beneath the lower part of the Grocers' Hall, about the east part of their kitchen, under St. Mildred's Church," &c.

The Roman remains found by the labourers near the course of the above stream in Prince's Street, and in the vicinity of the Bank of England, are of a more interesting nature, and of a more varied description, than hitherto have been met with.

I may particularize a pair of small brass scales, keys, one of which is a key-ring, spatulæ, fibulæ, styli, needles in brass and bone, coins, and an instrument eight inches in length, resembling the modern steels for sharpening knives; a bronze horse's head and a wreath of the lotus leaf form the handle, to which is affixed a brass ring for the purpose of suspending the instrument from the girdle. The blade, five inches in length and one-third of an inch thick, is of steel. This relic is in fine preservation, which I ascribe to a galvanic action of the several metals repelling the formation of rust.[a]

Knives were also dug up in this street, one of which has a bone handle. Both ivory and bone were used by the Romans for making the handles of their knives, as well as for other purposes; the former, being by far the more valuable, was confined to the wealthier class, while the latter entered into the manufacture of articles in general request.

Juvenal says,[b]

"——adeo nulla uncia nobis
Est eboris." . . .
"—— quin ipsa manubria cultellorum
Ossea."

[a] In Montfaucon will be found an engraving of a similar handle (wanting the ring), which is termed a *knife-handle*; but this perfect and curious specimen of the Roman steels, leaves no doubt of the original character of the incomplete relic from which the engraving referred to, was made.

[b] Sat. xi. l. 131.

I heard a report of a helmet having been discovered in Prince's Street, and also some silver vessels, but making it a rule to be sceptical in all matters of antiquity that depend merely on the word of the workmen, I pass them over with many other alleged discoveries.

Of the Samian ware a great quantity was procured from Prince's Street and from Lothbury.

The general nature of this pottery has been so often described, and the uses to which it was applied are so well understood, that many remarks thereon may be spared.

While the commoner kinds of fictile vessels may have been made by the colonists, the Samian was in all probability imported; though, it is very likely, that after a time it might have been manufactured, as well as other varieties of earthenware, in Britain. The names of some of the potters stamped on cups and dishes of Samian pottery, are of a very barbarous sound, and remind us of those occurring in Cæsar's Commentaries, as the names of Gauls and Britons, for instance Dagodubnus, Bonoxus, Divicatus, and others.

Saguntum, in Spain, is mentioned by Pliny as being famed for its potteries, and might have exported its wares directly to Britain, for which country it would have been a nearer and more convenient depôt. This historian states, if I correctly understand him, that both Samos and Eretum (in Italy) supplied in his time the dishes or plates for meats, but for *drinking-cups* he names several places, and among them Saguntum. Now the potters' names that I have observed on the broad red dishes (such as most nearly correspond with our dinner plates) bear certainly more classical names than are usually found on the majority of smaller vessels, as OF. MODESTI. OF. CELSI.[b] &c.

It will not, perhaps, be erroneous to consider some of the larger and better executed dishes, pateræ, &c. to have been imported from Rome, some from Saguntum, while others may have been made in potteries established at a more recent period in Gaul and Britain.

Martial,[c] in one of his epigrams, mentions a *Batavian* potter named Rufus:

"Sum figuli lusus Rufi persona Batavi;"

perhaps the same whose name we meet with on the red pateræ.[d]

[b] Ex officinâ Modesti. Officinâ Celsi.

[c] Born in Spain. Martial, xiv. 176.

[d] Bagshot, 1783. London, 1835.

In addition to Pliny's testimony of the esteem in which the Samian pottery was held among the Romans, may be adduced the fact of its being frequently found *riveted with lead and brass*, demonstrating that when broken it had been considered too valuable to be thrown away.

It is rendered precious to us of the present day, not merely from its rich colour, compact texture, and variety of form, but as embodying a series of mythological and historical representations alike valuable to the antiquary and the classical scholar.

Deities, their emblematical accompaniments, their priests and sacrificial processions, are frequent subjects on the Samian bowls and vases, the archetypes of which will often be recognised in statues and other works of Grecian or Roman art, so familiar to the connoiseur.

Apollo and Daphne are depicted on a fine fragment in my possession, obtained from Gutter Lane; while on another is a priest (probably of Esculapius) invoking a serpent on an altar. Some, probably drinking-cups, have Bacchantes dancing, and Bacchanalian processions.

The story of the Pygmies and the Cranes often occurs, and cannot be misunderstood:

"Pygmæus parvis currit bellator in armis."[e]

The vine, on one fragment, with pendant clusters of grapes, forms the sole and graceful ornament, and on others the leaf of this tree is blended with that of the ivy, recalling to mind the applicable lines in Virgil:

"Lenta quibus torno facili superaddita vitis,
Diffusos edera vestit pallente corymbos."[f]

Musicians are often introduced playing on the several kinds of flutes and on the harp; of the latter, the plectrum is often discernible in the hand of the performer:

"—— crispo numerantur pectine chordæ."[g]

Gladiatorial combats constitute a favourite subject on the Samian vases. The dresses and actions of the combatants illustrate and corroborate the copious historical accounts that have descended to us respecting this degraded class. Some present us with masks and grotesque objects, nor are there wanting delineations of an indelicate character.

[e] Juv. Sat. xiii. [f] Virg. Bucol. [g] Juv. Sat. vi. l. 381.

Combats between men and beasts, and field sports, add to the variety of the figured Samian ware.

Some of the dogs represented as hunting the stag, the wild boar, and hare, bear a striking resemblance to the hounds and greyhounds now employed throughout England, and particularly to the cross-breed we occasionally meet with, between the greyhound and the sheep-dog, a species better adapted in close countries for destructive coursing, being stronger, and if not so fleet, yet capable of enduring more work than the purer breed. The Romans were accustomed to import hunting dogs from Gaul and Britain,[h] and our superiority in the breed of certain species to this day will not be disputed.

To the naturalist a field for elucidation is open in the numerous and often very spirited representations of animals, leaves, plants, flowers, and trees, which may be pronounced to be executed faithfully, and with great attention to character.

Running across the centre of the Samian cups, and more rarely on the exterior sides, are found the names of the potters, usually stamped with great regularity, and with the letters and monograms extremely well formed, and in styles peculiar to different æras of the Roman Empire. So fresh indeed, and untouched by time, do these inscriptions come down to us, that we cannot refrain, while beholding them, from regretting that the Romans did not avail themselves of this imperishable composition for transmitting to posterity those valuable records which stone and marble have failed in preserving. The same names are often found at great distances apart, which alone would establish the general demand for this kind of pottery. Thus the name of LVPPA from Prince's Street, corresponds with one from near Shefford in Bedfordshire, found in 1826.

A fragment from East Cheap, in addition to being ornamented with dogs and leaves, has inscribed on the outside CRVCVRO, which may either stand for the maker's name in the nominative case, or abbreviated at the final R, and the O for officinâ. Another, closely resembling the foregoing in execution, found near Lothbury, bears M CREST.O, (Marci Cresti officinâ) in double impress, having been first blundered and then corrected. In one instance the

h See Strabo. Nemesian also (in Eclogis, p. 220.),

—— catulos divisa Britannia mittit
Veloces, nostrique orbis venatibus aptos.

name, SABINVS FE.[i], runs in a circle; and I possess examples of stamps *incuse*, and have seen one in your possession.

Adjectives, although uncommon, do occasionally appear, as AVGVSTALIS, either as referring to the quality of the ware, or to its appertaining to the Prætorium. I may also allude to the word FORTIS on a terra-cotta lamp in your collection.[j]

On the handles of amphoræ found in these excavations, merely initials often appear as C . IV . R, while on the rims of the broad shallow earthen pans the names are given more or quite at length, for instance, ALBINVS . . MORICAM: FECIT, SOLLVS F. &c.

The excavations having advanced to Lothbury, the first object that struck my attention was the remnant of a tessellated pavement opposite Founder's Court. Nearer the church of St. Margaret, at about ten or twelve feet deep, the workmen met with a vast number of iron instruments, such as chisels, crow-bars, hammers, &c. all in a very corroded state. Descending still deeper beyond the church, and at the east corner of the Bank, the usual vestiges denoting Roman occupancy were found in abundance, and include a leathern sandal, well preserved and thickly studded with nails on the sole, specimens of red and black pottery, numerous middle-brass coins of Domitian, and one of Antoninus Pius, reverse "Britannia." Wooden piles similar to those before-mentioned in Prince's Street, were again encountered, and combined to indicate the existence of embankments of a water-course at a very remote period.

As the works proceeded from Lothbury to London Wall, various objects of interest were from time to time procured, such as brass coins of Agrippa, Antonia, Claudius, and Vespasian, in the second size, and Trajan in large brass (which last have at intervals been found from East Cheap to London Wall), spatulæ of various kinds, styli, needles, a gold ring, an engraved cornelian, pottery, a pair of brass tweezers, with ear-pick connected by a ring, and an instrument five inches long, somewhat resembling a packing-needle, with an eye about an inch from the pointed extremity, while the other end is flat and circular, about the size of a shilling, and bearing on the obverse a strong mixed resemblance to the coins of the Lower Empire and the Saxon period. It carries the

[i] Sabinus fecit.

[j] I observe also in my list Comitialis and Cerealis, both of which may designate the peculiar purposes for which the vessels thus inscribed were used, though the latter is also a proper name.

impression of a helmeted head to the right, looking upwards to what seems a sceptre surmounted by a cross and two minute stars; on the breast is also a cross, and projecting behind the head are two rows of pearls, such as are appended to or constitute the diadems on coins of the later Roman Emperors. It was most probably used in arranging or fastening the hair.

But the most important discovery in the line of excavation from Lothbury to the Wall, was made on the Coleman Street side, near the public house called the Swan's Nest, where was laid open a pit or well containing a store of earthen vessels of various patterns and capacities. This well had been carefully planked over with thick boards, and at first exhibited no signs of containing any thing besides the native gravelly soil, but at a considerable depth other contents were revealed. The vases were placed on their sides longitudinally, and presented the appearance of being regularly packed or embedded in the mud and sand which had settled so closely round them, that a great number were broken or damaged in being extricated. But those preserved entire, or nearly so, are of the same kind as the handles, necks, and pieces of the light-brown-coloured vessels met with in such profusion throughout the Roman level in London. Some are of a darker clay, approaching to a bluish black, with borders of reticulated work running round the upper part; and one of a singularly elegant form is of a pale bluish colour with a broad black border at the bottom. Some are without handles; others have either one or two. Their capacity for liquids may be stated as varying from one quart to two gallons, though some that were broken were of much larger dimensions.

A small Samian patera, with the ivy-leaf border, and a few figured pieces of the same were found near the bottom of this well, and also a small brass coin of Allectus, with the reverse of the galley "Virtus Aug." and moreover, two iron implements resembling a boat-hook and a bucket handle. The latter of these carries such a homely and modern look, that, had I no further evidence of its history, than the mere assurance of the excavators, I should have instantly rejected it, from suspicion of its having been brought to the spot to be palmed off on the unwary; but the fact of these articles being disinterred in the presence of a trustworthy person in my employ, disarms all doubt of their authenticity.

The dimensions of this pit or well were about two feet nine inches, or three

feet square, and it was boarded on each side with narrow planks about two feet long, and one inch and a half to two inches thick, placed upright, but which framework was discontinued towards the bottom of the pit which merged from a square into an oval form.

To describe or enumerate every object that has occurred in this locality, and elsewhere, during the progress of the works for the sewers and streets, would prolong my communication to a more tedious length than, I fear, it has already reached; I will therefore go on with the general narrative.

At Honey Lane, in digging for the foundations of the new City School, the tiles, pavement, vaults, &c. of an Anglo-Norman church first attracted my notice; then were found many coins of Æthelred, a tripod, some bronze utensils, and two sacrificial knives, one of the blades of which has three narrow sprigs of brass inlaid, and is one of the finest specimens of the kind I have ever seen. At the depth of about sixteen or eighteen feet some pottery, glass bottles, and some few coins, two of which were, a badly preserved medallion of Trajanus Decius and a small brass of Allectus.

The acquisitions from Bread Street consisted of richly figured Samian vases, many of the earthen pans, to which the term *mortaria* has been, I think questionably, applied, and specimens of paintings from the walls of Roman dwellings which time or the hand of the spoiler had played sad havoc with.

With regard to the circular vessels, mortaria, they seem to me to be in every respect unsuited to the purposes of trituration, both from the softness of the material and also from the shape; but appear to be well adapted for a variety of culinary uses, and from being usually found on the sites of dwelling-houses may have been intended for general service in the kitchen department. They are met with in various sizes, and sometimes in pale red clay.

The specimens of paintings from the walls of the domestic habitations of the Romans, who were stationed or settled in London, are very interesting, as exhibiting additional proofs of the extent and comfort, not to add luxury, perceptible in the vestiges of the private residences of the colonists.

The observations of Sir William Gell on the paintings at Pompeii, will apply to these now under consideration. They exhibit great freshness of colours when first brought to the air and washed free from dirt, but soon vary and fade, so as in a short time to afford but a faint idea of their original beauty.

The prevalent colours on the specimens I obtained were yellow, white, red, and green; some have a border of white circles, and some alternate borders of white and green on a red ground, while others exhibited traces of flowers or fanciful designs.

At the entrance to Bread Street, twelve feet from the surface, a chalk wall crossed Cheapside diagonally towards Wood Street, and apparently entered that street; but what direction it then took, the partial openings made for sinking shafts to sewer works did not give sufficient scope for determining.

A shaft was sunk between Bread Street and Friday Street, and pottery obtained both from that and from another sunk opposite Gutter Lane. There was discovered a black wide-mouthed earthen pot embedded in the loam eighteen feet deep from the present surface. It is of the cinerary kind, and is deposited in the museum of Mr. W. D. Saull, of Aldersgate Street.

Gutter Lane proved a fertile source for the Samian pottery. Among other pieces from this street, is one bearing a human head in high relief and of very superior workmanship, and which appears to have been separately moulded and then fastened on; also a well-preserved glass bottle, capable of holding about two ounces, and a brass coin of Carausius, reverse "CONCOR. MILIT."[k] (two hands joined); also many of the broad curved-edged tiles used for covering the roofs of houses.

Not less interesting discoveries were made in a shaft sunk opposite Paternoster Row, where, at about eighteen feet deep, the operations were checked by a stone wall, of intense hardness, running in a direction towards the centre of St. Paul's, and which cost the labourers three or four days to cut through.[l] Close to this wall were found several of the second brass coins of Vespasian and Domitian, and above the fine Samian dish, bearing across its centre the inscription "OF. MODESTI." with several potters' names, iron tools, and instruments, one of which is the head of a hammer nearly a foot long.

In the direction of St. Martin's-le-Grand, a few yards distant from this wall, and at the depth of twenty feet, were a vast quantity of wooden piles covered with planks, and among them was found a human skeleton. An immense

[k] Concordia Militum.

[l] In this wall were cemented two large sea-shells, evidently for ornament. Sir William Gell notices this as a common practice in Pompeii.

number of human and other animal remains were exhumed opposite St. Martin's-le-Grand; but I saw no signs of pottery, coins, or other Roman vestiges.

The excavations were suspended in Newgate Street, near to Ross Street. About 100 yards from the eastern entrance, the foundations of a wall,[m] forty feet in length and eight feet deep, had to be opened; but such was the solidity of the mortar, that much time and labour were expended before their object could be effected. This stone-work appeared to me to run diagonally across the street towards the entrance to Christ's Hospital. About sixteen yards from this entrance I obtained a beautiful gold ring set with a sapphire, a ruby, and two torquoises. I must here correct a newspaper report that the wall or stone-work above named, was situated at the *bottom* of Newgate Street, and that some antiquities besides were obtained from that locality. All operations up to this time have been confined between the *eastern* entrance and Ross Street.

Some of the facts herein related stand very disconnected; but, however isolated their position, they may not be unworthy of record, as at some future period they may serve as materials towards the Roman topography of London, and I trust that the details may be enlivened by the exhibition of the accompanying articles which I have ventured to offer, through your medium, to the inspection of the Society of Antiquaries.

I am, Sir, respectfully yours,

CHARLES ROACH SMITH.

A. J. Kempe, Esq. F.S.A.

SOME OF THE POTTERS' NAMES FROM RECENT DISCOVERIES IN LONDON.[n]

AVLIVS F.	Aulius Fecit.	AMMIVS F.	
ASCILLI M.	Ascilli Manu.	AVGVSTALIS.	St. Michael's.
AGEDILLVS F.		ATTICI M.	
ALBANI M.		ALBINVS.	
AQUIT OF AQVIT OF AQVITANI	Aquitanus.	BOINICCI M.	
		BORILLI OF.	
		BONOXVS.	

[m] Supposed to be the south wall of the church of St. Nicholas Shambles.

[n] Nearly all the following stamps (with many more) have been obtained by me at the various sites referred to in the foregoing communication, and are now in my possession. Some of the names have been given by Mr. Kempe in his paper, vol. xxiv. p. 202 of the Archaeologia, on the Roman Antiquities found near the site of the church of St. Michael, Crooked Lane.

CARINVS.
CALVINI M.
OF CRESTI.
CRESI M.
CATASEXTVS F.
CARANI F.
CELSVS.
DIVICATVS.
DIVICI M.
DIVIXTVL. Divixtulus.
DECVMINI M. Decumini Manû.
DAGODVBNVS.
FELIX.
OF FELICIS.
GERMANVS.
OFF GER. Officinâ Germani.
GEMINI M.
GRACCHVS.
HILARI.
IABVS FE.
IOENALIS. Iovenalis.
LATINVS.
LVTAEVS. Incuse, from Gutter Lane.
LVPPA.
OF LICINI.
LICINILVS.
LIBERIVS.
LVCANVS.
LOLLIVS F.
OF LVCCEI.
MATVCENVS.
MARTIVS.
MARTIALIS.
MARCELLI M.
MAGNVS.
MAINACN. Perhaps Manû Janacini.
MEDETI M.
MOM. Momi.
OF. MO. The same.
OF MURRANI.
MERCATOR.
OF MODESTI.
OF NIGRI.
OF NERI.
PATERCLOS FE. Paterculus Fecit.
PAVLLVS.
OF PAVLLI.
PASSEN. M.
OF PATRICI.
PRIMANI.
PRIMVLI.
OF PRIMVL.
OF PRM.
POTITIANI M.
QVARTVS F.
RVFI.
RVFINI M.
SABINVS F.
SACREMV. Sacremus.
SACROTI M S. Sacroti manû sua.
*OF SEVERI.
SECVNDVS.
OF SECVN.
SECVNDINI.
SEXTUS FE.
SEXTI O.
SENICI O. Senici Officinâ.
SILVIRI M.
SILDATIANI M.
SVLPICI.
SOLLUS FECIT.
L. C. SOL.
TERTIVS.
VIDVCVS.
VIRTHVS FECIT.
VICTORINVS.
VITALIS. M. S.

* The v is placed within the o in some.

XIII. *Documents relating to Perkin Warbeck, with Remarks on his history; communicated in a Letter to the Right Honorable the* Earl of Aberdeen, *Pres. S.A., from Sir* Frederic Madden, *K.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.*

Read 6th, 13th, 20th April, 1837.

My Lord, British Museum, 21st March, 1837.

Perhaps there is no individual, in the whole course of English History, whose character and pretensions have been enveloped in greater mystery, or occasioned more discussion, than those of the person who in the reign of King Henry the Seventh assumed the title of Richard Duke of York, and who is better known under the name of Perkin Warbeck. On both sides of the question—his being really heir to the Crown, or an artful impostor—have appeared many able writers, and the controversy may yet scarcely be deemed decided. On the former side are the respectable names of Buck, Carte, Walpole, Henry (?), Laing, and Bayley; whilst on the other we have the united voices of all the early historians, and in more recent times, the authorities of Hume, Lingard, Sharon Turner, and Nicolas. It would be very easy, as Dr. Henry justly remarks, for us to adopt either of the two opinions, and support it by plausible arguments, but not so easy to establish its truth in such a manner as to leave no doubt on the subject. The advocates for Perkin's claims have derived a great advantage from the absence hitherto of those contemporary documents which might substantiate or refute the statements of the Tudor chroniclers, and have continually questioned the authenticity of the narrative, on the ground of its being the invention of the writer, or adopted from motives of political expediency. Any papers therefore which may assist us in forming a clearer judgment of this "mysterious personage," or throw even a

feeble ray on the obscurity with which the transactions of that period are clouded, appear to me to behighly deserving of attention; and with this view it is that I take the liberty of laying before the Society copies of some original documents, part of which have recently been brought to light, and the remainder (probably from the difficulty of decyphering them, or from other causes) hitherto unnoticed by all our historians.

But before I proceed to the documents themselves, it may not be unadviseable to notice briefly the amount of the historical evidence on the subject, as it has been handed down to us by the writers of the period; and in doing this it will be necessary to use a little critical discrimination, to avoid falling into the common error of attributing to one what in reality is only borrowed from another.[a] The contemporary authorities may be reduced to three, Fabyan, Bernard André, and Polydore Vergil. The former of these, in his character of city-chronicler, contents himself with giving us a few scanty notices of Perkin's attempt, without a word in explanation. Of the second (a native of Thoulose, who held the situation of poet-laureate at the court, and had been charged with the education of Prince Arthur,) we possess a Life of Henry the Seventh, still existing in MS.[b] dedicated to the King himself. The author in his preface tells us it was undertaken in the year 1500, at which period he had retired from his official charge (probably on the annuity allowed him by the King[c]), and, although afflicted with blindness, had compiled his account of

[a] This has been done particularly in regard to Perkin's supposed Oration to James the Fourth of Scotland, which Dr. Henry ascribes to Lord Bacon. Walpole and Laing go a step further, and assign it to Grafton. But the fact is, that Grafton copies it literatim from Hall, who translates it from Polydore, therefore it is to the latter alone we are to look for the share of invention displayed in its composition. It is much to be regretted that in the reprints of our Chroniclers, some critical hand had not pointed out how far the later are indebted to the earlier authorities; for who would quote from Holinshed or Grafton, when the same passage *totidem verbis* is in Hall?

[b] MS. Cott. Dom. A. XVIII.

[c] In Rymer, vol. xii. p. 317, is the order for an annuity of ten marks to him, dated 2nd Nov. 1486. As late as 1510 is the following entry relative to him in a Household Book of Henry VIII. in the Chapter House: "Jan. 1. Hen. VIII. It'm. to Mast' Bernard the blynde poyete, 100*s*." See Tanner, Warton's *Hist. E. P.* vol. ii. p. 232, and *Excerpta Historica*, p. 109. The Cotton MS. Dom. A. XVIII. contains the largest portion of his Annals, from the birth of Henry VII. to the year 1498. Subsequently he appears to have annually presented to the King an outline of the trans-

Henry's reign without any other assistance than that of an amanuensis. The work is composed in a rhetorical and subservient style, suitable to the character and situation of the author, but is in many respects curious; and as it has been but imperfectly consulted by our historical writers, I shall annex to this paper[d] a copy of that portion which relates to Perkin, which will preclude the necessity of saying more respecting it here. The third authority, Polydore Vergil, commenced his history, as is well known, in 1505, and completed it in 1517, under the immediate auspices of Henry the Eighth, and it is to him we must look as the source whence the stream of succeeding historians chiefly borrowed their materials. Hall follows him minutely, but with some additions of value, particularly the insertion of the Confession Perkin is stated to have read before his death. Grafton merely reprints Hall; and the later writers may be dismissed without notice until we come to honest John Speed, who increased the value of his narrative materially by making use of André's MS. work. As to Lord Bacon's history of Henry the Seventh,[e] it is little more in truth than a repetition of what he found in preceding writers, eked out and embellished in a style accordant with the prevailing taste of his time.

Having premised thus much in regard to the authors who are so often cited

actions of his reign. Two only of these portions are preserved, namely for the 20th year [Aug. 1504—Aug. 1505], and 23rd year [Aug. 1507—Aug. 1508], MS. Cott. Jul. D. III. and IV. Speed, who first consulted this work, says of it, "in such points as he hath professed to know [it is] not unworthy to be vouched, for there is in him a greate deale of cleare elocution and defæcated conceit, above the ordinary of that age." *Hist. of Brit.* ed. 1611, fol. 728.

[d] Append. No. I. of the Documents attached.

[e] Among the Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. No.7084, is a fair copy of Lord Bacon's History, which had been submitted to the perusal of King James; and f. 2, the following passage occurs after the words "for the reversall of their atteyndors," which is omitted in the printed editions: "But the Judges left it there, and made no mention whither after such reversall there should need any new election or no, nor whither this sequestering of them from the House were generally upon their disabilitie, or upon an incompetency that they should be Judges and Partyes in their own cause. *The point in lawe was whither any disabilitie in their naturall capacitie, could trench to their politicke capacitie, they being but Procurators of the Commonwealth, and Representatives and Fiduciaries of Countyes and Burroughes, consideringe their Principals stood upright and cleere, and therefore were not to receive prejudice from their personall atteyndors.*" The whole of this is crossed out with a pen, and in the margin, opposite to the words in Italics, Lord Bacon has written in his own hand, "This to be altered, as his Ma^te told Mr. Mewtus."

indiscriminately in modern works, as the pillars of English history since the accession of the house of Tudor, I now propose to consider in chronological order the various documents which my researches have enabled me to collect respecting this "mercuriall," as Lord Bacon terms him, which he afterwards explains by saying that Perkin "was made of quicksilver, which is hard to hold or emprison."

The first which I shall produce is an original letter from Perkin Warbeck, addressed to Isabel Queen of Spain, daughter of John II. King of Castile and Arragon, by his second wife, Isabel, daughter of John Prince of Portugal, and consort of Ferdinand the Catholic. She was therefore grand-daughter of Philippa, sister of Henry IV. of England, the Queen of John I. of Portugal, and it was doubtless on this account we find the plea of relationship put forward, which served as an excuse for the letter itself, and enabled Perkin, by a well-aimed stroke of policy, to attempt to interest in his behalf the consort of a monarch, who, by his recent victories over the Moors, had rendered himself sufficiently powerful to make his protection an object of the greatest importance.

The letter is written by a secretary, in very indifferent Latin, and is signed "Richard," with the epithet of "Plantagenet, second son of the late King Edward." The seal formerly attached to the silk or band which enveloped the letter, is now wanting, which is to be regretted, since it would have been interesting to know what arms were assumed by Perkin at this stage of his career.

The tenor of this letter is as follows:

"Most serene and most excellent Princess, my most honored Lady and Cousin, I commend me entirely to your Majesty. Whereas the Prince of Wales, eldest son of Edward formerly King of England, of pious memory, my dearest lord and father, was miserably put to death, and I myself, then nearly nine years of age, was also delivered to a certain lord to be killed, it pleased the Divine Clemency, that that lord, having compassion on my innocence, preserved me alive and in safety; first, however, causing me to swear on the holy sacrament, that to no one should I disclose my name, origin, or family, until a certain number of years had passed. He sent me therefore abroad, with two persons, who should watch over and take charge of me; and thus I, an orphan,

bereaved of my royal father and brother, an exile from my kingdom, and deprived of country, inheritance and fortune, a fugitive in the midst of extreme perils, led my miserable life, in fear, and weeping, and grief, and for the space of nearly eight years lay hid in divers provinces. At length, one of those who had charge of me being dead, and the other returned to his country, and never afterwards seen, scarcely had I emerged from childhood, alone and without means, I remained for a time in the kingdom of Portugal, and thence sailed to Ireland, where being recognised by the illustrious lords, the Earls of Desmond and Kildare, my cousins, as also by other noblemen of the island, I was received with great joy and honor. Thence being invited by the King of France, with many ships and attendants, and having been promised aid and assistance against Henry of Richmond, the wicked usurper of the kingdom of England, I came to the aforesaid King of France, who received me honorably, as a kinsman and friend. But on his failing to afford me the promised assistance, I betook myself to the illustrious Princess, the Lady Duchess of Burgundy, sister of my father, my dearest aunt, who, with her known humanity and virtue, welcomed me with all piety and honor; out of regard also to her, the most Serene King of the Romans, and his son, the Archduke of Austria, and the Duke of Saxony, my dearest cousins, as likewise the Kings of Denmark and Scotland, who sent to me their envoys, for the purpose of friendship and alliance. The great nobles of the kingdom of England did the same, who execrate the proud and wicked tyranny of this Henry of Richmond. But (most Serene Princess, Lady and Cousin,) since, on account of our relationship, and your renowned virtues, by which you surpass all other princes of the world, in justice, actions, and prosperity, you ought no less than other princes to compassionate our condition, and succour us with pious love, I pray and implore your Majesty will use your influence with your Serene Spouse, that, together with your Clemency, he may be induced to pity the numerous calamities of our family, and in my right, which is also yours, to further me and mine with his favor, aid, and assistance. For I promise, if the Divine Grace should restore to me my hereditary kingdom, that I will continue with both your Majesties in closer alliance and friendship than ever King Edward was, and that I and my kingdom will be ever ready to fulfil your pleasure, no less than your own

realms. Farewell to your noble Majesty! Written from the town of Dendermonde, the 8th calends of September [25th August], 1493.

"Of your Excellent Majesty
the Cousin, Richard Plantagenet, second son of Edward formerly King, Duke of York, &c.

"RICHARD."

Addressed,

"To the most Serene and Excellent Princess, the Lady Isabel, Queen of Castile, Arragon, Sicily, Granada, &c. my most honored Lady and Cousin."[f]

We have here for the first time, under the hand of Perkin himself, his own narrative of his history, and it is not a little curious to compare it with the Confession, and the accounts given by André and Polydore Vergil. There are many points in it which require comment; but to understand it more completely, I may be permitted to recall to your Lordship's memory the previous career of this extraordinary adventurer, and his position at the period when this letter was written.

It was in the autumn of the year 1491 that Perkin Warbeck first landed at Cork in Ireland,[g] at which period Henry the Seventh, in concert with his allies Maximilian and Ferdinand, had just declared war against France. The expedition was got ready in the course of the following summer, and Henry, having joined his army at Calais on the 2nd October 1492,[h] proceeded to besiege Boulogne. But previous to the commencement of hostilities (probably about May, 1492), Henry's adversary, Charles the Eighth, had dexterously availed himself of Perkin's appearance, and with the view of embarrassing Henry's projects against himself, and not from any conviction of the justice of

[f] The original text of this letter, with a fac-simile of the signature, will be annexed to this communication, Append. No. 2.

[g] The Earls of Desmond and Kildare were at this time induced to offer Perkin their aid, as asserted in his letter, and confirmed by historical evidence. According to Lord Bacon, Perkin's letters to these Earls were extant in his time. See his Hist. Hen. VII. p. 118. Sir James Ware repeats the fact from Bacon, in his Annales, p. 38, ed. 1658. In Rymer, xii. p. 567, is a pardon granted to the Earl of Desmond for his treason, dated 12 Dec. 1494, and he is also included in the general pardon to the Irish rebels, 26 Aug. 1496. *ibid.* p. 634.

[h] Household Book, MS. Add. 7099.

Perkin's claims, had invited him over to the French court, where he was most honorably entertained, in the state appertaining to his supposed rank. The war was therefore but of short duration, for Henry had never entered into it very heartily (as appears by the overtures for peace on the 12th June previous), and finding himself unsupported by his allies, and tempted by the sum of money offered to be paid to him on the part of Charles, concluded a peace at Estaples on the 3rd November, and returned to Calais on the 7th, where, if we may credit Polydore Vergil, he was first informed of Perkin's pretensions; "which sodeyne newes," says Hall, "more stacke and fretted in hys stomacke, then the battaile which now was set late forwarde, & more paine he had (not without ieopardie of him self) to appeare & quenche this newe spronge conspiracy, then makynge peace with the Frenche kyng his enemy."[i] There can be little doubt however, that the knowledge of the fact must have preceded the ratification of the peace, and have presented to Henry's mind no inconsiderable argument for its acceptance. For as by the terms of the peace, separately confirmed by Charles on the 13th December, the French King was bound to afford no aid to rebels or enemies of Henry, the result at once was the dismissal of Perkin from France, and his retirement to the territories of Margaret of Burgundy, by whom he was received most favorably, and by her influence placed under the protection of the Archduke Philip, and Maximilian King of the Romans. On the news being spread in England, and on the open defection of Sir Robert Clifford and others to the cause of Perkin, it became necessary that Henry should adopt active measures to avoid the storm which now seemed to threaten him, and for that purpose he dispatched emissaries and spies to the Low Countries, by whose letters he was informed of Perkin's birth-place and low origin.[j] On this Henry sent an embassy, consisting of Sir Edward Poynings and Dr. William Warham, to the Archduke and Maximilian, the commission for which was signed 13th July, 1493.[k] I have searched

[i] Hall, fol. xxviii. ed. 1550. Cf. Pol. Verg. p. 586, ed. 1555.

[j] "Illi [exploratores] in Galliam profecti, dum alii alia loca peragrant, quidam Tornacum perveniunt, ibique intelligunt Ricardum humili loco natum, nomenque à primo habere *Petrum*, cognomento *Varbechum*, idque multorum testimonio constare." *Pol. Verg.* p. 591. Comp. Hall's translation here and elsewhere, when Polydore is quoted.

[k] Rymer, xii. 544.

in vain for a copy of the private instructions given to them; but the substance is unquestionably preserved by Polydore, and in them they were directed to remonstrate with the Archduke against his giving further credit or aid to Perkin, on two grounds, first, in regard to his low birth, and secondly, because the two princes, sons of Edward IV. were murdered in the Tower by command of their uncle, "sicut nemo homo nesciebat, et secus credere vel affirmare summæ esse dementiæ." In conclusion the ambassadors were openly to charge Margaret of Burgundy with the formation of the plot.[l] In reply to this, the councillors of Philip, after some debate, made a promise that the Archduke should no longer give assistance to Perkin; but in respect to the Lady Margaret, they would not interfere with her, as she held her lands in dower in her own right.

This was the state of things at the time when Perkin Warbeck addressed his letter in August 1493 to the Queen of Spain, and he was then evidently still under the protection of the Archduke, since he dates it from Dendermonde, a considerable town of Austrian Flanders, situated at the confluence of the river Dender with the Scheld, nearly about mid-distance between Ghent, Antwerp, and Brussels. This is confirmed by a passage, hitherto overlooked, in a letter addressed by the Prince de Ligne in 1513, to Henry the Eighth, in which he complains of the conduct of Messire Hue de Mellum, and adds, that this was the person who conducted the whole of Perkin's affairs, when in Flanders.[m] Now the person in question, Hugues de Meleun, Vicomte de Gand, a knight

[l] So also in the King's letter to Sir Gilbert Talbot, written from Kenelworth, 20 July [1493 ?] he expressly charges Margaret with the contrivance of the plan. Ellis's *Orig. Lett.* i. 20, 1st ser. The Tudor historians all join in the same accusation, and Hall quaintly writes, the Duchess thought "to have gotten God by the foote, when she had the deuell by the tayle," f. xxx. But the alteration in the King's affairs with regard to Flanders at a subsequent period, will account very satisfactorily why Margaret's name was omitted in Perkin's Confession.

[m] "Je suis esté informé à la verité, que ung seigneur portant l'Ordre de pardeça, se advanchoit de secretement advertir les villes tenans parties Françoises, que je me vouloie donner en vostre service, et qu'ilz se donnissent garde, et feissent bon guet. Et d'avantaige, pour plus demoustrer son couraige, il escript certaines lettres en François, lesquelles j'ay fait prendre, dont je vous envoye les coppies. Sire, le personnaige se nome Messe *Hue de Mellum*, et *est celui qui conduisy toute l'affaire de Pierekin, qui se cuida faire Roy de vostre Royalme d'Angleterre.* J'espere avec l'aide et adveu de vostre noble personne, de lui moustrer qu'il n'est pas vostre serviteur." Dated from Brussels, 1513. MS. Cott. Galb. B. vi. fol. 120.

of the Golden Fleece, and high in the confidence of Maximilian and the Archduke, was actually Governor of Dendermonde at this period, and the previous year had defeated the Gantois, who had sent troops to surprise the town.[n]

What reception Perkin's letter met with, we have no means of precisely ascertaining; but, as in the month of March previous, a treaty of peace and alliance had been entered into between England and Spain, and in April an ambassador had been sent from Ferdinand to Henry, it is not probable the former would run any risk in espousing the cause of a person whose statements were so questionable, against a prince whose friendship was then of moment. Indeed, the manner in which the letter has been docketed by the Spanish secretary, as coming from "*Richard, who calls himself King of England*," would lead us to infer that his pretensions were but coldly listened to at the court of Madrid.

On an attentive consideration of this document, it must strike every one who is impartial, that the account given in it of the supposed Duke of York's escape, and his subsequent adventures until he landed in Ireland, is extremely unsatisfactory,[o] and the whole much more liable to suspicion than the *Confession*, which the defenders of Richard have so vehemently impugned. The remark of Turner must here be allowed to have its full weight, namely, that Perkin, by openly declaring the murder of Edward the Fifth, completely silences the arguments of those who acquit Richard of the crime, and at the same time convicts himself of imposture. But there is another circumstance which at the outset arrests our attention. In this letter the Duke of York is declared to have scarcely attained his ninth year, when he escaped from the tower. Now, if we reckon from the 17th August, 1472, the day of the Duke's birth, according to the testimony of a Herald who lived at the time,[p] to the month of June, 1483, the supposed period of the murder and escape, we shall find that

[n] Maurice, *Hist. de la Toison d'Or*, p. 121, fol. 1667.

[o] Of the same character is the Proclamation issued by Perkin on the expedition of James V. into England, in 1496, printed in the Appendix to Henry's History of England, No. I. and so unwarrantably altered by Lord Bacon.

[p] See a communication sent by me to the *Gents. Mag.* January 1831, p. 25. Sir Harris Nicolas with his usual acuteness had already fixed the Duke's birth in the year 1472. See his preface to the Wardrobe Accounts of Edw. IV. p. xvi. 8°. 1830.

the youngest of the princes would have been not *nearly nine*, but *eleven* years old, wanting a month. Supposing therefore Perkin to have been the real Duke of York, how could he have made so great an error, or have betrayed such an ignorance of his real age? However the supporters of Walpole's opinion may attempt to explain this away, I confess it seems to me a plain proof of the imposition. In the notice of his sojourn in Portugal, Perkin confirms beyond question the similar narrative in the Confession, (hitherto much questioned) and the remainder is agreeeble to the accounts of historians, with this addition, that he had received promises of aid from the Duke of Saxony, and the kings of Denmark and Scotland, which, if true, would only prove how treacherously both the latter acted at this period towards King Henry. But before I quit this letter (which must certainly be regarded as a great curiosity) I must notice an extraordinary error of Lord Bacon, which has been the cause of much misunderstanding, and false reasoning. In speaking of Perkin's origin he writes: "He had been from his childhood such a wanderor, or (as the King called him) such a *land-loper*, as it was extreme hard to hunt out his *nest* and *parents*. Neither againe could any man, by company or conversing with him, be able to say or detect well what he was, he did so flit from place to place. Lastly there was a *circumstance* (which is mentioned by one that wrote in the same time) that is very likely to have made somewhat to the matter, which is, that King Edward the Fourth was his *god-father*; which, as it is somewhat suspicious for a wanton prince to become gossip in so meane a house, and might make a man thinke that he might indeed have in him some base bloud of the House of Yorke, so at the least (though that were not) it might give the occasion to the boy in being called King Edward's *god-sonne*, or perhaps in sport King Edward's *sonne*, to entertaine such thoughts into his head." He then proceeds to tell us, that "There was a townesman of Tourney, that had borne office in that towne, whose name was John Osbeck, a *Convert Jew* married to Catherine De Faro, whose businesse drew him to live for a time with his wife at London, in King Edward the Fourth's daies. During which time he had a sonne by her, and being known in court, the King, either out of a religious noblenesse, because he was a *Convert*, or upon some private acquaintance, did him the honor as to be *Godfather* to his child, and named him

Peter."[q] Walpole and Laing have both noticed the inconsistency of this statement with the Confession printed in Hall, in respect to Perkin's *Jewish* descent, and Walpole openly charges Lord Bacon with forging it, and justly ridicules the idea, that a king called *Edward* should have given the name of *Peter* to his grandson.[r] The explanation however of all this confusion will be found by producing Bacon's original authority, namely, the MS. history of André, which he had read, as quoted by Speed.[s] This writer is the only one who states, that Perkin when a boy was *servant in England to a Jew named Edward, who was baptised and adopted as godson by Edward the Fourth, and was on terms of intimacy with the king and his family.* This curious piece of information[t] Lord Bacon has from carelessness most unaccountably misunderstood, and then by trying to connect it with the narrative given in the Confession, has committed the double fault, first of transferring to Perkin the baptism of the Jew Edward, and next of asserting that the John Osbeck, named as Perkin's father in the Confession, was the Jew in question!!! As to the surmise which follows, respecting King Edward's intrigue with Perkin's mother, it is the mere imagination of Bacon, founded upon his erroneous view of facts, and this, which he after all only throws out as a suggestion of his own, has been most unfairly represented by Hume (who copies Bacon literally) as the opinion of persons living at the period! This is a fair specimen of the manner in which our writers of history formerly imposed their own inaccurate notions on

[q] Hist. Hen. VII. p. 114.

[r] Hist. Doubts, p. 90.

[s] Speed's words are, "This youth was borne (they say) in the city of Torney, and called Peter Warbecke, the son of a converted Jew, whose godfather at baptisme King Edward himselfe was." *Hist. of Brit.* 1611, p. 737. He gives *Bern. Andr.* in the margin, as his authority for this. It must be observed that Speed is also in error, in making Perkin *son*, instead of *servant*, of the Jew.

[t] If the Privy Purse expenses of Edward IV. should hereafter be discovered, they might perhaps afford some entry respecting this baptism of the Jew, to confirm André's statement. This is only one proof among a thousand of the invaluable information contained in this class of documents, by means of which we are enabled to test the accuracy of nearly every contemporary writing. There exists a precedent for the story, in the reign of Edward the Third, who stood god-father to a converted pagan, in the year 1361. The incident is thus alluded to in a contempory chronicle: "Eodem anno, 6 die Nov. venit rex Ciprie Londoniis, conducens secum unum regem paganum De Lecto dictum, prisonarium, et unum alium magnatem non prisonarium, sed magnatem paganum, vocatum Dominum de Jerusalem, qui conversus est ad fidem Christianam; quem rex Anglie de sacro fonte levavit, et ipsum *Edwardum* nominavit." MS. Cott. Galb. E. VII. f. 188 b.

the public as the result of laborious investigation. Lingard and Sharon Turner (which is somewhat surprising, since they both quote André, but probably only through the medium of Speed) take no notice of the passage, and merely cite the narrative of the Confession, which, although it omits all mention of the circumstances related by André, by no means can be considered irreconcileable with them. [u]

The next documents which I shall produce on the subject of Perkin Warbeck, are the original private papers of instructions given by Henry the Seventh to Richmond, otherwise Clarenceux King of Arms, [x] employed as his confidential envoy to the courts of France and Rome. The first of these I have discovered is dated at Shene, 10 Aug. 1494, [y] and authenticated by the King's signature. In it he is directed to inform the King of France that Henry had received from the hands of his esquire, Thomyn le Fevre, the credentials intended to have been brought by Messire Georges le Grec, but who had been seized with a fit of the gout on the road, so as not to be able to proceed. That the said esquire had informed the King of the arrival at Paris of the French ambassadors, the Archbishop of Rheims [z] and M. de la Trymouille, [a] who had been despatched on a mission to the king of the Romans, and the intelligence they had brought of the intention of Maximilian to assist with all his power the person who called himself Plantagenet, and pretended to be son of the late

[u] The fact of this Confession having been printed, as we learn from André, is a sufficient answer to those who contend against its genuineness because it is omitted by Fabyan and Polydore. Lord Bacon's reasoning on it is worth but very little.

[x] This individual was Roger Machado, a foreigner, who was in Henry's service before he ascended the throne. He died in 1516. See Noble's *Hist. Coll. Arms*, pp. 87, 111. In Rymer, vol. xii. is a licence to him and to John Meautis, the King's French secretary, to import 100 casks of Gascon wine free of expense, dated 17 Nov. 1494.

[y] MS. Cott. Cal. D. vi. fol. 18. This volume is one of those that suffered in the fire of 1731, and several lines at the bottom of each page are burnt. The date of the month is also destroyed, but fortunately it had been written in pencil at the commencement by some antiquary, previous to the accident. The original text will be annexed to this paper, No. 3.

[z] Robert Briçonnet, Archbishop and Duke of Rheims, premier peer of France, and afterwards made Chancellor, at Turin, 30 Aug. 1495. He was brother of the Cardinal of St Malo. See *Hist. de Charles VIII. rec. par Godefroy*, fol. Par. 1684. p. 721.

[a] Louis de la Trimouille, called "la Chevalier sans reproche," principal Chamberlain to Charles VIII. and Knight of his Order. He died in 1498. See *ibid.* p. 207.

king Edward, and for that purpose had gone into Flanders, with a great force. That the king of France, notwithstanding the armament he had raised by land and sea to undertake the conquest of Naples,[b] was ready to lend his aid to the king to defend his realm of England, and for that purpose offered him the ships of Bretagne and Normandy, provided they were reasonably remunerated for their services; and that further the king of France had refused to allow his subjects to take part with Perkin, which he was willing to grant to the King, should he require it. For all which information and good offices the said Richmond is to return the King's cordial thanks, and acceptance of the offers, but to state that Henry held the affair of the *garçon* of so little moment, that it was not his intention to trouble the king of France on the occasion. The instructions then proceed:

"And in regard to the said *garçon*, the King makes no account of him, nor of all his . . . . , because he cannot be hurt or annoyed by him; for there is no nobleman, gentleman, or person of any condition in the realm of England, who does not well know that it is a manifest and evident imposture, similar to the other which the Duchess Dowager of Burgundy made, when she sent Martin Swart over to England.[c] And it is notorious, that the said *garçon* is of no consanguinity or kin to the late king Edward, but is a native of the town of Tournay, and son of a boatman *(batellier)*, who is named *Werbec*, as the King is certainly assured, as well by those who are acquainted with his life and habits, as by some others his companions, who are at present with the King; and others still are beyond the sea, who have been brought up with him in their youth, who have publicly declared at length how . . . [*a few words are wanting*] the king of the Romans. And therefore the subjects of the King necessarily hold him in great derision, and not without reason. And

[b] See a minute account of this expedition by André de la Vigne, and other historians, in the same work; by de Comines, tom. i. p. 440, and by Guillaume de Vileneuve, in the *Preuves des Memoires de Phil. de Comines*, tom. iv. p. 82. 4to. 1747.

[c] Martin Swart was sent over with 2000 Germans in 1487, to assist Lambert Simnel and the Earl of Lincoln, and was slain at the battle of Stoke, near Newark. He was, says Hall (translating from Polydore) "a noble man in Germany, and in marciall feactes verye expert," fol. ix. There was a ballad made on him, probably not long after, which is alluded to by Skelton, and in the comedy called "The longer thou livest the more fool thou art," of which the burden seems to have been:

"Martin Swart and his men, sodledum, sodledum,
Martin Swart and his men, sodledum bell."

if it should so be, that the king of the Romans should have the intention to give him assistance to invade England, (which the King can scarcely believe, seeing that it is derogatory to the honor of any prince to encourage such an impostor) he will neither gain honor or profit by such an undertaking. And the King is very sure that the said king of the Romans, and the nobility about him, are well aware of the imposition, and that he only does it on account of the displeasure he feels at the treaty made by the King with his said brother and cousin, the king of France."

Richmond is then instructed to offer the mediation of Henry in the affair of Naples, on account of his near connexion in blood with the French king, and also because the king of Naples (Alphonso II.) was on terms of friendship with him, and had received his Order of the Garter.[d]

In respect to the state of affairs at home, he was to inform Charles, that England was in as good, prosperous, and peaceable condition, as it had ever been within the memory of man. But in regard to Ireland, the King had resolved to set that country in order, particularly that part which was peopled by the "Wild Irish," that they might be ruled by the same laws as those within the English pale.[e] That for this purpose, he should send a sufficient army, and great officers in legal and military capacities, which he expected without fail would pass over in the ensuing September, at latest.[f] Lastly Richmond is directed to return the King's thanks for the declaration of the king of France, that in case any invasion of England should be attempted by the king of Scots, he would give neither countenance, favor, nor assistance to him.

[d] Alphonso had received the Garter when Duke of Calabria, and was installed 18 May, 9 Hen. VII. He succeeded to the throne of Naples on the death of his father Ferdinand, 25 Jan. 1493-4. Ashmole's *Reg. Ord. Gart.* ii. 236. According to Polydore Vergil, it was with the hope and expectation of being assisted by Henry against Charles VIII. that he desired so much to be a knight of the Order. Hist. p. 587, Hall, *f.* xxviii.

[e] See the description given by Polydore of the two sorts of Irish, p. 594. Hall in translating the passage, says of the latter. "The other kynde is cleane contrary from this, for they be wylde, rustical, folish, fierce, and for their vnmanerly behauior and rude passions, are called wilde and sauage Irishmen. And to these wilde coaltes Perkyn shewed hym selfe first, easely perswading them to believe that he was the same very person whom he falsely fayned and countrefeated." fo. xxxvi.

[f] Sir Edward Poynings, K. G. was appointed deputy of Ireland, 13 Sept. 1494, and was sent shortly after with an army "to serche and purge all such townes and places where Perkin was receyued, relieued, or fauoured," as Hall, copying Polydore, tells us. His proceedings in Ireland may be learnt from the historians.

There is moreover a separate article added to these instructions, in which Richmond is charged to shew privately to the king of France, that the aid afforded by Maximilian to Perkin is prompted entirely by his dislike of the friendship and amity between England and France, and that he would do every thing in his power to set another king on the throne of England, to accomplish his desires. That if Henry, pleased, he might no doubt make terms with Maximilian, but was determined not to do it, and trusted that while he and his brother of France were in alliance, they would be quite strong enough to defeat any attempts of their adversary.

At the commencement of the year 1494-5 Richmond was again sent to France, and the instructions to him are dated at Greenwich, 30 Dec. 1494.[g] He was charged to thank the French king for the good will shewn towards Henry, by letters received from his Governor in Picardy, signifying his having received orders to do all things according to the King's pleasure. That on Richmond's return to England Charles had promised to send an envoy to Henry, to discuss the affairs of both kingdoms; but, as he had not arrived, the King had thought proper to dispatch Richmond back again to learn the state of the French king's affairs, and to communicate his own. In regard to which, the King was in good health, and loved and obeyed in his kingdom as well as any of his predecessors had been. That in Ireland every thing went on well, and that the prelates and persons of condition, as well within the pale as without, had tendered their submission to the King's Lieutenant, and that it only required certain judicial measures to settle the island, which the king hoped would shortly be put in force. The instructions then go on:

"Item, in case that the said brother and cousin of the King, or others about him, should speak at all touching the king of the Romans, and the *garçon* who is in Flanders, the said Richmond may reply as he did on his former journey. And he shall say, that the King fears them not, because they are incapable of hurting or doing him injury. And it appears each day more and more to every person who the said *garçon* is, and from what place he came."[h]

[g] MS. Cott. Cal. D. vi. fol. 20. He was afterwards to proceed to Rome, as is apparent from the entry in the King's Household Book, where is an item of £22. 10. 0. for the costs of Richmond Herald to Rome, for three months, dated 1st Jan. 1494-5. MS. Add. 7099.

[h] The words of the original are: "Lesquelles sont telles. Que, graces à Dieu, le Roy n're d'

The said Richmond is also instructed to acquaint himself with the state of affairs in the Pope's territories, in France, in the seignories of Venice, Florence, and other Italian principalities, and to send intelligence thereof to the King. And in case the king of France should inquire concerning the peace between England and Scotland, he is to reply, that, at his departure, the King had received certain information, that a solemn embassy was about to be despatched from Scotland, to conclude the peace.[i] He is also to represent to Charles certain grievances complained of by the English merchants.

On reading these Papers, the first thing that strikes us is the apparent indifference and contempt expressed by the King for Perkin and his adherents; but that this was only a political *ruse*, to impose on Charles, is evident not only from the known character of the King, but from his subsequent attempts to get Perkin into his hands. The assertion also so roundly made, that no person of any condition in England believed in Perkin's claims, must have been to deceive, for the contrary is asserted by Henry's own historians, and the King could not at this period have been unacquainted with the defection of Clifford, Barley, and others, although it was not till the following January 1494-5 that

souuerain s^{r} est en bonne santé & prosperi[*té*] de sa personne, aussi bien aymé et obey en son Royaulme, que fue jamais Roy en Angleterre, et que les affaires de son pais d'Irlande vou.... avant, tout ainsi qu'il les sauroit ou vouldroit demander. Et pour te ..... certain, les notables prelatz, gens d'eglise, grans seigneurs, gens d'onn[*eur*] et de façon, et tous autres dud' pais d'Irlande, aussi bien ceulx de la .... sauluaige, que celle de la langue Angloisse, se sont tous venuz rend .... lieutenant general du Roy n're d' souuerain s^{r} estant de p'nt oud' pa[*is*] d'Irlande, en faisant les foy et hommaige au Roy n're d' souuerain s^{r}. Reste tant seullement, fors de mettre icelluy pais en bonne justice, or[*dre*], et police. Ce que le Roy n're d' souuerain s^{r} espoire sera fait de brief [*sans*] aucune difficulté, à son tres grant honne^{r} et prouffit.

"Item on cas que led' bon frere & cousin du Roy n're d' souuerain s^{r} ..... estans alentour de luy, entient aucunement en parolles tou[*chant le roy des*] Romains, et du garson qui est en Flandres, Led' Richmont [*pourra*] respondre, co'me il fist à l'autre voyage, et que ses ..... tent, Lesquelles il pourra porter avecques ..... Et dira que d'eulx le Roy n're d' ..... nulle, parce qu'ilz ne luy sauroient en façon quelconque nuyre, ou porter p'iud[*ice*]. Et appert l'ung jour plus que autre à vng ch'un du lieu dout est yssu led' garson, et qu'il est."

MS. Cott. Cal. D. VI. *fol.* 20 b.

[i] Letters of safe-conduct to the Scottish Ambassadors were granted 28 July 1494; but the negotiation (which had been begun in May, when a commission was issued to the Bp. of Durham and others) came to nothing. *Rymer*, xii. 555.

Sir Robert Clifford was induced by a bribe of 500*l.*[k] to return from Flanders, and disclose the plot which cost Sir William Stanley and Lord Fitzwater their lives. The King's account of Perkin in these instructions is also worthy of remark, in reference to the often cited Confession. In the former he is called son of a *boatman*, named *Warbeck*, but in the latter it is said his father's name was John *Osbeck*, who was comptroller of Tournay, but that his grandmother married Peter Flamme, who was "*dene of the botemen*" on the Scheld. There is nothing however in these two accounts that appears to me irreconcileable, for as Lord Bacon says, "for the name of *Warbeck*, it was given him when they did but guesse at it, before examinations had been taken, but yet he had been so much talked on by that name, as it stucke by him after his true name of *Osbeck* was known;"[l] and there is no reason why Perkin's father might not have been a boatman, or connected with that occupation, previously to his being comptroller, particularly since his grandfather had been so before him. It must also be recollected, that the King might have learnt from Perkin himself more accurate information in 1498, than what he had received from his spies and others in 1494. Henry's great and culpable omission in this instance, as in the case of the examination of Tyrrel and Dighton, was in not openly publishing a statement, signed and verified by competent authorities, which would have been far more satisfactory than "the court-fames," which, adds Bacon, "commonly print better (i. e. impress themselves more strongly on the public mind) than printed proclamations."

The motives assigned by the King for Maximilian's open protection of Perkin, were probably the real ones; but all parties, to use a homely expression, seemed to be playing a game of fast-and-loose, according as their own interests prompted them. Notwithstanding the French king's pretended friendship, we cannot doubt that his embassy to the king of the Romans (which at this period is not mentioned by the historians of France) was to cement the treaty concluded in May 1493, at Senlis, previous to his departure on his

[k] See the extracts from Henry's Privy Purse Expenses, in the *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 100, 101. Our historians have placed the apprehension of the conspirators too early (anno 9) since it must have taken place after Clifford's return (anno 10). The bill of attainder against them passed in the following October. *Rot. Parl.* V. 504[b].

[l] Hist. Hen. VII. p. 115.

Neapolitan expedition, and consequently that Charles would be very far from giving any open assistance at such a juncture to Henry against Maximilian.

It was in the course of the summer immediately following, that Perkin having received from Maximilian, Philip, and Margaret, the aid of ships and men, made his first attempt on the coast of England, and on the 3rd July, 1495, landed a portion of his troops at Deal in Kent. The time had been well chosen (having probably been previously concerted with some secret agent in England) for Henry was then engaged on a progress towards the north, and did not return till the middle of October. Had the adventurer indeed at this period been joined by any persons of rank, or his cause espoused by the people, as he had vainly been led to hope, the issue might have been very different. Finding, however, that the forces he had landed were received as enemies, and either slain or captured, he immediately altered his course, and steered towards Ireland, where, with the assistance of the Earl of Desmond, he laid siege to Waterford; but having been compelled to raise the siege by an army under the command of the Lord Deputy, and having lost three of his ships, he retreated with precipitation, and returned again to Flanders, *re infecta*.[m] The result of his ill success was soon apparent, for the interruption of trade between England and the Low Countries had for some time been a source of distress to the Flemings, and this, united with the ill reception Perkin had met with, determined the Archduke to pursue a different line of policy, and to open negotiations with Henry for peace. The ambassadors appointed on the English side were Fox, Bishop of Durham, John, Viscount Welles, John Kendal, Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, and others; and the treaty was concluded at London, on the 24th Feb. 1495-6, by the fourth article of which it was mutually agreed by the contracting parties, not to admit the enemies or

[m] None of the English historians take notice of the landing of Perkin in Ireland, or the siege of Waterford at this time. The fact, however, is undoubted, since in the Royal MS. 18 C. xiv. are the original accounts of the sub-treasurer of Ireland, giving all the details of the expenses incurred on the occasion. The L. Deputy took the field with the King's Standard displayed before the 23d July. The names of the Captains of the gunners, who raised the seige, and captured the ships, were Adam van Edyngton and Will. Warrewick, in reward for which they received 4*l.* on 26 Aug. One of the ships, named the *Kekeout*, was sold to Henry Wyot on 14 Aug. for 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; another was sold to John Clerc for the same sum, and the third, called "le Mare," was sold to the same for cloth to the amount of 40*l.* The account of the siege of Waterford, given in Ryland's History of that City, pp. 30, 31, 8vo. 1824, and placed under the year 1497, ought undoubtedly to be referred to 1495.

rebels of each other into their territories, and by the fifth article, to expel such rebels from their territories, within a month after it was required.[n] These articles were evidently levelled at Perkin, who yielding to necessity (as on a former occasion, when under the protection of Charles the Eighth), once more set sail, and directed his course again to Cork in Ireland,[o] where, however, he remained but a short period, for by the measures of Sir Edw. Poynings, "there was nothing left him," says Bacon, "but the blustring affection of wild and naked people." He therefore at once resolved to proceed to Scotland, and try his fortune at the court of James, to whom he is said to have had strong letters of recommendation from Maximilian and Philip, and who was known to bear no good-will to Henry. His speech to James, on his first audience, as reported by Polydore Vergil and his followers, I have before noticed. The exact words are probably the invention of the historian, but the substance is unquestionably accurate, as will be evident to any one who compares it with Perkin's letter to Isabel. The reply of James was favorable, and was no doubt influenced by a belief in the justice of Perkin's claims. This, indeed, is admitted both by André and Polydore, who only accuse James of having been deceived; and on no other ground than a conviction of Perkin's being the real Duke of York, can we reasonably account for James having bestowed on him his near relation the Lady Catharine Gordon, daughter of George, second Earl of Huntley, in marriage. Here then for the present we will leave Perkin, basking in the sunshine of the honors he had fortunately obtained.

It is now time to direct the attention of your Lordship and the Society to a very remarkable paper, never yet brought into notice. It purports to be the Deposition of one Bernard de Vignolles,[p] a Frenchman, dated at Rouen, 14th March, 1495-6, disclosing a secret plot to take away the King's life, with other proceedings of the conspirators, in favor of Perkin Warbeck. The principal

n Rymer, xii. 378. Henry's Hist. Engl. vi. 33, ed. 4to.

o Perkin's descent took place in March, and seems to have been very sudden, for in the accounts of Will. Hatteclyffe, sub-treasurer of Ireland, I find 66*s.* 8*d.* allowed for two horses, which were lost by John Wyse, proceeding towards the Earl of Desmond, in Munster, "eo quod *Perkynnus Warbec* hoc vice applicuit in partibus illis cum rebellis d'ni Regis," so that he was compelled to fly and leave the horses behind him. MS. Reg. 18 C. xiv. f. 45 b.

p I can find no other particulars concerning this individual than what he relates of himself.

persons accused were John Kendal, Grand Prior of the order of St. John of Jerusalem in England, Sir John Thonge (Thweng?) his nephew, a knight of the same order, and Dr. Heusse (Horsey) Archdeacon of London. The first of these individuals is remarkable from his having been the subject of the earliest contemporary English medal in existence, of which an unique specimen formerly belonged to Thoresby, and is now in the cabinet of the Duke of Devonshire. The date of this medal is 1480, the period of the siege of Rhodes by the Turks, and on it he is styled *Turcopolier*, or General of the Infantry of the Order, the office of which was annexed to that of Grand Prior of England. Yet, as my friend Mr. Hawkins has noted, although the medal so designates him, it is not probable he was actually present at the siege, for in that very year Edward the Fourth ordered all persons in Ireland to assist John Kendal in procuring aid of men and money against the Turk, and he is designated as Turcopolier of Rhodes, and locum-tenens of the Grand Master in Italy, England, Flanders, and Ireland.[q] I find that he succeeded John Weston as Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, near Clerkenwell, but the exact date is not ascertained, and the earliest discovered is the year 1491.[r] In this capacity he appears to have acquired the confidence of the King, and we subsequently find him employed in political negotiations of great moment.

[q] Rymer, xii. 112. Dat. 29 Apr. 1480. The medal (which in all probability was executed in Italy) is engraved in Pinkerton's Medallic History of England, 4to. 1790. On the reverse is his shield of arms, *viz.* a fret, in chief a cross of Rhodes. The same arms impaled with those of England, are said to decorate the walls of an hotel at Rhodes to this day. His family is supposed to belong to Yorkshire; but respecting this I have been unable to gain precise information. He had obtained from the Pope the power of granting certain religious indulgences to those who should contribute to the support of the Order, and had for that purpose printed forms on parchment, with blanks left for the names of the parties. My friend the Rev. Joseph Hunter informs me he has seen one of these forms, granted to Richard Cattlyn, chaplain, and John Cattlyn (a Yorkshire family) dated 16th Apr. 1480, and in it he is styled "Frater Johannes Kendale, Turcipolerius Rhodi, ac Commissarius à Sanctissimo in Christo Patre Sexto Papa Quarto, et vigore litterarum suarum pro expeditione contra perditos Turchos, Christiani nominis hostes, in defensionem Insule Rhodi et fidei Catholice facta et facienda concessarum, per universum orbem deputatus." It is dated from the House of St. John, Clerkenwell, and Mr. Hunter concludes, with great probability, that these forms were printed in England.

[r] Newcourt's *Repertorium*, vol. i. p. 670. *Monast. Anglican.* vi. 779, new ed. He is stated to have died in November 1501.

Thus, in June 1492, he was nominated one of the Commissioners to treat of peace with France,[s] and in February 1495-6 he again occupies the same office,[t] in arranging the treaty with the Archduke. In September also of the former year he receives the royal license to import fifty casks of Gascon wine free of duty.[u] Of his nephew Sir John Thonge, or Thweng, I have been unable to glean any particulars, but of his other confederate, Dr. William Horsey, some account may be found in Newcourt's Repertorium.[v]

The substance of the Confession is as follows:

First, that the above-mentioned three persons being at Rome, sought for means to kill the King of England, his children, his mother, and those near his person, and with this intention they became acquainted with one Rodrigo, a Spaniard, and astrologer, and the said Archdeacon went to lodge at his house, thinking he would be able to accomplish their designs, which he could not. At length they discovered another person, named Master John, also a Spanish astrologer, who, on hearing their wishes, made answer, that he could do what they desired, and with this view they made a bargain with the said Master John, for a certain sum of money; and to have more complete proof that he could accomplish what he had undertaken, they caused him to put to death a Turk, who was servant to the brother[x] of the Great Turk, then at Rome, in the Pope's palace. And they delivered the said sum of money to the said astrologer.

Item, when the said three persons quitted Rome to return to England, they left one Stephen, a native of Sardinia and servant of the Prior of St. John, with the said Master John, and caused a considerable sum of money to be delivered

[s] Rymer, xii. 481. [t] Ib. xii. 578. [u] Ib. xii. 487.

[v] Vol. i. p. 62. He succeeded John Forster as Archdeacon soon after 1490, and resigned in 1513. He was Chancellor to Richard Fitzjames, Bishop of London, and made Precentor of St. Paul's, 27 Mar. 1514, which he held till 1531. He died about April 1543. In the Privy Purse Expenses of Hen. VII. is an item of 20*s.* paid to him for preaching before the King, 10 March 1492-3. *Excerpt. Hist.* p. 93.

[x] This was Sultan Zemi or Zimime, brother of Bajazet II. who, after rebelling against his brother, retired to Rhodes, and was delivered up to the custody of Pope Innocent VIII. He remained at Rome till 1494, when he was transferred by Pope Alexander VI. to the king of France, and died not long afterwards,—as was supposed from the effect of poison. See *Memoires de Comines*, tom. i. pp. 396, 471, 477; iv. 118.

to the said Stephen and Master John, *par banque* (by bill), after their departure; but the said astrologer subsequently told the said Bernard de Vignolles, that they had not given enough money to carry the enterprise through.

Item, that two years after the said three persons had arrived in England they determined to send a man to Rome, and fixed on the said Bernard de Vignolles, expressly commanding him that he should find means to murder the first astrologer, on account of his having spread reports that they intended to kill the King of England, and also that he should speak to the other astrologer, Master John Disant, about the accomplishment of their project, and to do it, if possible, abroad, without coming to England, for fear of his being known. Concerning which the said astrologer made reply, that to complete their undertaking as soon as possible, he would come to England in the habit of a friar, and because the said astrologer had lost two of his teeth, he would procure two others of ivory, of the colour of his own, and travel by sea in the surest manner, under the pretence of going on a pilgrimage to St. James (of Compostella). And the said Bernard believes, that if it had not been for the want of money to spend on the way, that the said astrologer would have come to England.

Item, at the departure of the said Bernard from Rome, to return to England, the said astrologer gave him a little wooden box, in which was an ointment, that the said astrologer sent to the Prior of St. John, and directed him by the said Bernard, to spread the ointment along and across some passage or door, through which the King should pass, and if this were done, it would cause those persons who bore the greatest love for the King, to betray and murder him. And when the said Bernard had returned to his residence, he went into his chamber, and opened the said box, and when he saw that it was a vile and stinking mixture, he closed it again, and threw it into the jakes. And the next morning he began his journey towards England, and when he came to Orleans, he remembered the said box, and for fear least the astrologer should have previously apprised the Prior of St. John of its transmission, the said Bernard went to an apothecary's, and purchased a box like the former one, and some quicksilver, and returning to his chamber, he took dry earth, soot of the chimney, and water, and mixed them together with the quicksilver, so as to make an ointment of the same colour as that which had been given to him by the said astrologer.

Item, when the said Bernard had arrived at the Prior of St. John's, he related what the astrologer had said, and delivered the box, but the Prior would not touch it, because the said Bernard told him there would be great danger in doing so, and if it remained four-and-twenty hours in his house, it would be very perilous for him; wherefore the Prior commanded the said Bernard to carry the box away to some distant place, and throw it where it could not be found, which the said Bernard did, as commanded.

Item, that three or four weeks afterwards, the Prior came to the said Bernard, who was then very ill, and pressed him to leave the kingdom of England, and gave him a horse and money to do so, and only did this for fear least the said Bernard should be taken, and disclose their evil designs. The sickness of the said Bernard continued for half a year or more, at the end of which time he asked leave to go to his relations and to the country where he was born, with the intention of confessing every thing to the King, for he dared not to do it whilst in England, for fear of the above-mentioned traitors, and with this intention he obtained leave to go (under a promise however to return soon) saying that his brother was waiting for him at Dieppe.

Item, at the commencement when Perkin Warbeck was in Flanders, a servant of his often wrote letters to the said Prior of St. John, which letters the said Bernard has seen in part, but not all, in which was contained in words of secret signification, how the *Merchant of the Ruby* was not able to sell his merchandise in Flanders at the price he demanded, on which account he had gone to the court of the king of the Romans, to see if he could succeed better; the meaning of which is, as the said Bernard states, that Perkin Warbeck was not able to obtain in Flanders so great succours as he required, to make an attempt on England:—the name of the servant who wrote the said letters, is Brother Guillemin de Noion.

Item, there was another merchant in town of Bruges, named Daniel Beauvivre, who was the Chatelain, and who after the return of Perkin Warbeck from the king of the Romans to Flanders, wrote to the said Prior of St. John many times, of which the said Bernard had only knowledge of one letter, in which was contained, how the said merchant had conversed not long before with the said Brother Guillemin de Noion, and that the said Brother Guillemin had told him, that he had got ready nearly all his money, to the amount

of 9 or 10,000 francs, and that he would send it to the said Prior of St. John *par banque* (or bill), and that the *Merchant of the Ruby* would take it with him.

Item, at the time when the King was at Worcester,[y] the said Prior of St. John was in the county of Bedford, at a religious house belonging to the Order, named *Milbourne*,[z] where he caused to be made a certain number of *jacquettes* for his attendants, of the following fashion, viz. the bases of two colors, green and red,[a] in plaits, and above the girdle only two bars, one before and the other behind, like a scarf, of the width of four fingers, or thereabout, and this was in order to place the Red Rose; and in the same manner he caused a body to be made for each jacquette, of the same color, and the said Prior ordered that each of his men should carry it on the bow of his saddle; and the said Bernard states, that this was done with no other intention than to place a White Rose on each jacquette.

Item, one Peter came, who is servant of the said Guillemin de Noion, whom the latter sent to the said Prior of St. John, under pretence of advertising the King of the coming of Perkin into England, the which Peter brought letters of which the King had no knowledge, nor had the said Bernard; and the said Peter told the said Bernard, that he had letters for Thomas Brandon,[b] which he dared not deliver, for fear the said Brandon should feel displeasure at it, and had therefore given them to the Prior of St. John's, to deliver to the said Brandon.

Item, whenever the said Prior of St. John had letters from Flanders, or news, he went or sent to the Bishop of Winchester,[c] John Heusse [Horsey],

[y] The King was at Worcester during his progress, on the 4th July 1495, the day after Perkin's attempt at Deal. See *Excerpt. Hist.* p. 103.

[z] *Melchburn* or *Mechelburn*, a Preceptory of St. John of Jerusalem, given to the Order in the reign of Hen. I. Leland speaks of it in his time as being "a right fair place of square stone, standing much apon pillered vaultes of stone." *Tanner*, and *Monast.* vi. 803.

[a] The colors of York are stated on competent authority to be *blue* and *murrey* (or tawney), and such was the livery of the guard appointed by Margaret to attend on Perkin, when in Flanders. See Willement's *Regal Heraldry*, p. 55.

[b] Probably the Sir Thomas Brandon who was Master of the Horse to Hen. VII. and Ambassador to the King of the Romans in 1502. See *Excerpt. Hist.* p. 127, 129.

[c] Thomas Langton, who was translated from Sarum by papal authority, and received the temporalities, 27 June 1493. He died 27 Jan. 1500. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 286.

Sir Thomas Tirel, and Archdeacon Heusse [Horsey], and communicated to them the intelligence; and in like manner, when the Bishop and the others received any news, they communicated it to the Prior.

Item, the said Prior of St. John has been two or three times, once a twelvemonth, to the house of Sir Thomas Tirel,[d] to inquire after news, and discussed various matters between them, and among other things the Prior began to speak how King Edward had formerly been in the said house, to which the said Sir Thomas replied, that it was true, and that the King had formerly made good cheer there, and that he hoped, by God's will, that the son of the said Edward should make the like cheer there, and that the said house had been built with the money of France, and that some day he hoped to gain sufficient to build another as fair; and during the above discourse the said Bernard and Sir John Thonge [Thweng?] were present.

Item, the secretary of the said Prior of St. John, named William Outon [Wotton?], a servant of the said Archdeacon Heusse [Horsey], named Lilly, and another, named John Watre, are all three acquainted with the whole treason, as meditated by the said persons; and the said Lilly and John Watre know the astrologer, who undertook this treason, for they were both living at Rome; and the King ought to take care, that they should not pass out of his realm.

Done at Rouen, the 14th of March, 1495.[e]

A suspicion might naturally arise on the first perusal of this Deposition, whether it were not wholly a fictitious plot, got up by the connivance of the King himself or his agents. But there are various minute circumstances mentioned in the paper itself, which completely refute such a notion, and would induce me to believe that some grounds really existed for its accusations. It is well known that many of the clergy were generally disaffected toward the King, arising, as Turner supposes, from a dislike to the measures of reforma-

d See the pedigree of Tyrell in the *Archæologia*, vol. I. 383. It is not at present clear to me who this Sir Tho. Tirel was. He is not mentioned in the Act of Attainder, nor by the Chroniclers. The name, indeed, in the original MS. is not so certain as to preclude all doubt on the subject.

e MS. Cott. Cal. D. VI. f. 30. Rymer seems to have contemplated inserting it among his collections, and caused a transcript to be made, whilst the original was in a perfect state, which is now in MS. Add. 5485, f. 230. See a copy in the Appendix to this communication, No. 4.

tion commenced under Archbishop Morton, Henry's confidential adviser.[f] In all the impostures practised against the King was "a priest and a plot," and among the adherents of Perkin arrested with Lord Fitzwater and others, were six clergymen of rank, among whom were two Dominicans, and Sir William Worseley, Dean of St. Paul's.[g] This would lead us to infer, that the Prior of St. John's and the Archdeacon of London were not so guiltless as their escape from punishment would induce many to believe; and this suspicion is strengthened when we find among the rebels who assisted Perkin on his attempt in Kent, in July 1495, the name of James Kething, Prior of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland.[h] Prior Kendal, however, was fortunate or crafty enough to escape the King's anger, or even doubts of his loyalty, for in the very same year in which the Deposition of De Vignolles was made against him, we find him presenting a petition, that the lands of the Hospital of St. John, of Kilmainham, in Ireland, forfeited by the treason of the Prior, should not be seised; and in the Act of Attainder against Perkin's adherents, appears a saving clause in his favour, relative to some lands in Essex, near Lord Fitzwater's estate. As to Archdeacon Horsey, the relation given by Fox,[i] of his murder of Richard Hunne, when confined in the Lollards' Tower, is sufficient to convince us that he was a "bold bad man," ready enough to enter into any project that would tend to his own interest.

The information given us in this Document of the secret correspondence carried on by Perkin's agents in Flanders and elsewhere with those in England, is highly curious, and the name by which he was designated "*The Merchant of the Ruby*," may hereafter serve to explain other papers of the period. We also learn the important fact, that Perkin did not receive from the Duchess Margaret the aid so commonly believed to have been supplied, and actually left Flanders on that account to procure it from Maximilian, who was the real promoter of his designs on England. The mention also of John Watre or Water is singular, as in all probability he was connected with the Mayor of Cork of that name, who suffered with Perkin on the scaffold.

[f] Hist. of Engl. iii. 611—613, ed. 4to. 1823.

[g] Fabyan. Pol. Verg. Hall. [h] Rot. Parl. vi. 482[b], 504[b].

[i] *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. pp. 8—17, ed. 1684. Fox adds that he retired to Exeter on a guilty conscience, and durst never return to London.

I shall now return to Perkin's history subsequent to his arrival in Scotland. Shortly after that event Henry dispatched Richmond herald, alias Clarenceux, a third time to France. His Instructions[k] are dated at Shene, 5th March, 1495-6, and, after referring to the visit of the French ambassadors, M. de Bussy and M. Jehan Charpentier, are confined chiefly to three points; first, respecting a personal interview between the monarchs, to which the King agrees;[l] secondly, touching certain overtures made relative to the marriage of the Dauphin and Margaret the King's daughter;[m] and thirdly, concerning a sum of money which had been lent to Charles by Henry, the payment of which the King was content to remit for a twelvemonth.[n] In conclusion, it is stated, that the King had been pressed by the king of the Romans, the king of Spain, and the Pope, to enter into the League[o] against Charles's attempts in Italy, and even to declare war, if necessary, on which accounts measures of pacification are recommended. Perkin is not here mentioned or alluded to; but in a fragment of another paper of Instructions to Richmond, probably given at the same period, it is noted:

"Item, if it should happen that the French King, or any great personages of his Council, should make any question or inquiry, how the King and the king of Scotland accord, seeing that the latter supports and entertains the

[k] MS. Cott. Cal. D. VI. f. 22.

[l] In a separate memorandum given to Richmond, relative to a statement said to have been made by Sir Charles Somerset to the French king, that Henry would shortly pass over to Boulogne, to have a personal conference with Charles, he is to say, that this was merely a suggestion of Somerset himself, without any authority.

[m] A curious proposal is introduced by Henry in this part of the Instructions. He had heard from the French ambassadors that the Queen of France expected to be confined shortly, and he informs Charles, that the Queen of England was in the same interesting situation, and if by God's pleasure, the one should prove a son and the other a daughter, it would be a very desireable match to unite them! This was a pure fiction, or else the Queen miscarried, for she had no child between Elizabeth, born 2 July, 1492, and Mary, afterwards Q. of France, born in 1498.

[n] It was urged that lending this money was contrary to the interests of the king of Naples, although a knight of the Order, and also to the injunctions of the Pope. The king confesses the difficulties which surround him, and says he should be glad to assist Charles, on the score of gratitude for the favors formerly received, if he could do it without incurring censure from other quarters.

[o] Henry afterwards joined the League. See the instrument of confirmation, dated 23 Sept. 1496, in Rymer, xii. 638.

garçon in his kingdom, or in similar words,——and in case they do not speak on the subject, the said Richmond is to endeavour by all proper means to give occasion to such remarks,—he may reply, that concerning this affair, the King cares nothing about it, and that it is the least of all his troubles. For the said king of Scotland is unable to injure him in any manner whatever, except, perhaps, in making him spend his money in vain."[p]

After which the said Richmond is instructed, as if from his own suggestion, to address Charles in a prepared speech, reminding him of a promise made (in the August preceding) at Turin, in the presence of many Scottish persons, that if the king of Scotland attempted anything prejudicial to Henry, he (Charles) would openly espouse the King's part, and declare himself the enemy of Scotland. Richmond is to add, that, previous to his departure, the King had received certain intelligence of the hostile designs of James, who proposed to capture Berwick; and the fulfilment of Charles's promise is therefore claimed.[q]

Besides these ample Instructions, Richmond had also a private additional charge, of what he was to represent, on the part of Henry, to the Cardinal of St. Malo,[r] the confidential minister of Charles. First, that the king of Scotland would make some attempt in the course of the year, but that the King "en riens ne le craint ne doubte." Secondly, that overtures had been made

[p] "Item s'il aduient q' le Roy Francois ou aucun grans personnaiges de [*son*] conseil facent aucune question ou demande à Richemont, comme accordent et font le Roy n're souuerain s^{r} et le Roy d'Escosse, vue qu'il supporte et entretient le *garson* en ses pais, ou de telles ou semblables parolles. Et si d'auenture on ne luy en parle point, qu'il se mette en deuoir par tous bons moiens de doner occasion q' on luy en puisse parler.

"Et ce fait, pourra respondre, quant à ce, que le Roy n're d' souuerain s^{r} ne s'en soucye que bien appoint, et qu'il croit q' c'est le moind[*re*] de tous ses soucys. Car led' Roy d'Escosse ne luy sauroit nuyre en facon quelconque, si ce n'est de luy faire despendre argent en vain." *MS. Cott. Cal. D.* VI. *f.* 28.

[q] MS. Cott. ibid.

[r] Guillaume Briçonnet, who had previously held the military rank of General under Louis XI; and was made Bishop in 1490, and Cardinal in 1494. In 1497 he succeeded his brother Robert in the archbishopric of Rheims. He died in 1514. A contemporary writer says of him "lequel pour ce temps là avoit plus credit qu' aucun autre aupres la personne du Roy." See *Hist. de Ch. VIII. rec. par Godefrey*, pp. 98, 638-9.

by some French gentlemen to Sir Charles Somerset[s] (who had recently been sent on an embassy to France) that in case the king of Scots made war on Henry, and their sovereign would give them leave, they would bring to the King the son of the Duke of Albany,[t] who was then in France, to make use of against James. Respecting which the Cardinal is to be conferred with, and also M. d'Orleans (who had spoken on the subject to Somerset), to desire them to use their influence with the French king, in order that the boy might be sent over, for which act the king will hold himself greatly obliged.[u]

It will easily be perceived by the tenor of these Instructions, that Henry began to feel real uneasiness at the protection afforded to Perkin in Scotland, and the open demonstrations of hostilities which were already manifested. He had, however, with his usual prudence and good-fortune, secured in the person of John Ramsay, Lord Bothwell, a secret agent, planted in the very midst of the Scottish court, and able on that account to supply Henry with early information of every thing that passed relative to Perkin. Two letters from him to the King, written in August and September of this year (1496) are printed by Sir Henry Ellis in his *Original Letters*, vol. i. first series,[x] and afford us many interesting particulars. At that time James was on the eve of commencing his foray with an army into the northern parts of England, accompanied by Perkin and his retinue, consisting of 1400 mercenaries of all nations, among whom are specified Sir George Neville, Lound the *priest*, and Heron.[y] Henry had made a weak attempt to ward off the blow,

[s] Natural son of Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset. He was employed in many negotiations, made K.G. and in 1519 created Earl of Worcester.

[t] This was John, son by a second marriage of Alexander Stuart, Duke of Albany, whose estates were forfeited in 1479 for his rebellion against his brother. This "boy" afterwards became Regent of Scotland, in the reign of James V. and finally died in France, in 1536, *s. p. l. Douglas's Peerage, by Wood*, vol. i. p. 59.

[u] MS. Cott. Cal. D. vi. f. 26.

[x] Previously also printed, but less correctly, in Pinkerton's History of Scotland, 4to. 1797, Append. 1, 2. The originals are in MS. Cott. Vesp. C. xvi. See an account of Bothwell in Ellis, i. 22, and *Excerpt. Hist.* p. 193.

[y] Probably John Heron, a mercer and bankrupt, who accompanied Perkin afterwards to Cornwall, and fled with him to Beaulieu. See Hall, fol. xlvi. and the King's letter to the town of Waterford, in Ryland's *Hist. of Waterford*, 8vo. 1824, p. 33.

by issuing a Commission to the Bishop of Durham and others to renew the offer of a matrimonial alliance with Scotland,[z] and Bothwell writes, that having solicited James to relinquish the favor shewn to "this *fenyt boy*," meaning Perkin, he refused to do so, unless such things were concluded as the Bishop came for, which James knew well enough were not likely to take any effect. The King of France had also lately sent an ambassador to Scotland (Lord Concressault—the very person who commanded Perkin's guard of honor in 1492) ostensibly for the purpose of mediation, but secretly to make offers to James to send Perkin back again to France.[a] Out of Flanders likewise had arrived succours, consisting of two ships with three-score of Almains, commanded by Roderick de Lalane (Lalain), but he brought no letters from Margaret of Burgundy to Perkin, as the latter apparently had anticipated, and replied but coldly to Perkin's inquiries after his "aunt."

At this juncture, when, to use Hall's words, Perkin was "swellyng with joye, that he after his owne phantasy had made the Scottes to be his partakers," he wrote a letter to Sir Bernard de la Forsse, knight, then at Fuentarabia in Spain, soliciting his good offices, and desiring him to ascertain the sentiments of the king of Spain. This Bernard had not only been employed by Edward IV. as noticed in the letter, but also (which is kept out of sight) had been one of the friends and councillors of Richard III. and was specially selected to be his envoy to Spain in 1483, to conclude the treaty of peace commenced between King Edward and Henry of Castile.[b] The original of this letter is in the British Museum, and a copy of it follows:

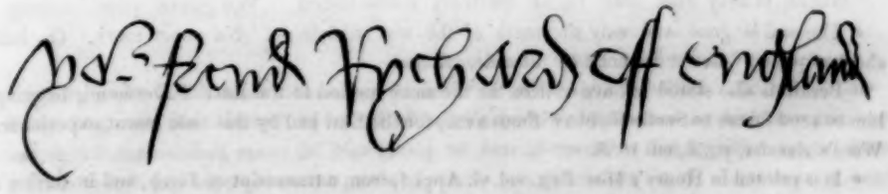
"Right trusty and our right entierly welbeloued. We grete you hartely

[z] Commission dated 2 Sept. 1496. Rymer, xii. 635.

[a] Ellis, i. p. 27. Bothwell adds, that the French Ambassador showed him "how great inquesicion was maid to onderstand of Perkin's byrthe bat be ye Admirall and him; and than I schew him ye writing I had of Meautes, and he planly said he neuer onderstud it, but rather trouit ye contrary." In all probability this alludes to some statement respecting Perkin's origin drawn up by Meautis, Henry's French secretary, which it was now the interest of France to throw doubt upon.

[b] See his Commission, Credentials, and Instructions in MS. Harl. 433. ff. 241, 244, 245 b. The Credentials are dated from York, 12 Sept. 1483. See also a letter from Richard to the Lords of his Council, relating to the same individual. *Orig. Lett.* vol. i. p. 154, 2*d ser.*

wele / Signifiyng vnto you. that we be credibly enfo^rmed of the grete love. favouñ and kyndenes. that ye in tyme passed shewed vnto ouñ most drad lord and Fadyr kyng Edward the fourth̄. whos soule god rest. with̄ the sage / and pollitique counselles. that ye. in sundry wises. ful lovingly gave vnto him. wherby he opteyned. the avauncement and ꝑmotyng of his maters and causes: wherfore ye stode right moche in the favouñ of his grace. Desire and hartely prey you. to be from hensforth̄ vnto vs: as lovyng / feithfull and kynde Counseillouñ and Frende: as ye were vnto ouñ said Fader. in shewing youñ gode and discrete myndes for vs. in suche maters and causes. as by youñ grete wisdoñ. ye shal seme best to be moved / for ouñ wele / comforte and relief / and that it wol plese you to exorte move and stiñ / youñ lovers and frendes / to do the same / and that we may vnderstond. the gode hert and mynde that o^r most dere Cosyñ / the kynge of Spayne / bereth̄ towarde vs. / And in youñ so doyng / ye may be sure to haue vs / as lovyng a gode lord. vnto you / or better. than evir was ouñ said lord and Fader. And eny thinge: that ye shal of resoñ desire of vs / that may conc^o^ne the wele of you. and of o^r right̄ trusty and welbeloued ſunt / youñ son / Antony de la Force: which̄ hath̄ full lovingly. geveñ his longe attendaunce vpoñ vs / in sundry Cuntreys. we shal w^t gode herte / be redy / to accomplissh̄. and parfourme the same / when it shall̄ plese almighty god to sende vs vnto ouñ right̄ / in England: and that it may plese you. to geve credence vnto youñ saide Soñ of suche thinges as he shal shewe vnto you. / And ouñ lord Jhū preſue you in alle honouñ ioy and felicite. and send yo^u^r thaccomplisshement of youñ noble hartes desiñ. From Edinburgh̄ in Scotland. the xviij day of Octobre.



Addressed, "To oure right trusty and right entierly welbeloued / Barnard de la Forse knyght at Fount Raby in Spayne."[c]

Indorsed in a Spanish hand:

+
a su al
del duq̃ de Yorq̃.

The autograph signature to this letter is very remarkable from its bold and thoroughly English character, and would cause one to believe that the education of Perkin in this respect, must have been attended to with considerable care.[d] Its date will shew that James did not set out on his expedition till after the middle of October, and it was probably in the same month that the Proclamation was issued by Perkin, in the assumed style of King of England, calling upon his subjects to join his cause, and filled with invectives against Henry.[e] The failure of this attempt is related by all our historians; and, as its success mainly depended upon the degree of assistance Perkin would receive from the Northern gentry, which he had most confidently promised to the Scottish nobles, so the anecdote told by Polydore Vergil is highly probable, that Perkin's affected commiseration of the ravages committed by the Scottish army, excited the suspicion of James, and called forth the taunt in reply, that he pitied a country which he called his, but which did not belong to him, since not a man in it had stept forward in his behalf![f]

In the January following Henry assembled his Parliament, and obtained a large sum of money for the purpose of defending his kingdom, but the mode

[c] The seal is gone, and only the mark of the wax remaining. No paper mark. On half sheet of paper. Letter fastened by a band or ribbon.

[d] Perkin is also stated to have written at the same period to the Earl of Desmond, begging him to send forces to Scotland, but without avail, for the Earl had by this time learnt experience. Ware's *Annales*, p. 53, ed. 1658.

[e] It is printed in Henry's Hist. Brit. vol. vi. App. 1, from a transcript of Birch, and in Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, (from MS. Harl. 283) App. p. xxxvii. It is signed R. R. Bacon's paraphrase of it is unwarrantable in any historical writer. The introductory part, which mentions his escape from the tower, and residence abroad, agrees generally with Perkin's own letter previously copied.

[f] Pol. Verg. p. 598. Cf. Hall, fol. xl.

of collecting it was so obnoxious, that the result was the Cornish insurrection headed by Joseph and Flammock, which gave Perkin once more a chance of the throne. The battle at Blackheath,[g] however, having put an end to the ill-digested designs of the rebels (upon whom Hall bestows the gentle epithets of "donge-hil and draffe-sacked ruffians"), and the King of Scotland having previously a second time invaded the borders, and besieged the castle of Norham, without success, he finally withdrew his army on the approach of the English forces under the Earl of Surrey, and returned to Edinburgh. Negotiations were again resorted to, and powers to treat were issued by Henry to Fox, Bishop of Durham, and others, dated 4th July, 1497. A copy of the Secret Instructions is preserved in the Cotton MS. Vesp. C. xxvi. f. 21, dated the following day, at Shene, in which the Bishop is directed to represent to James, that the offers made at Jenynhaugh on the part of the Scots, by the Earl of Angus and others, were insufficient, inasmuch as they did not include the delivery of Perkin Warbeck, a point which Henry insisted on.

"And therefore," (proceed the Instructions,) "you shall demand and require on our behalf of our said Cosen, that he deliuer vnto vs Perkin Warbeck, the wch deliuerance of him we desire not for anie estimation that wee take of him, but because our said Cosen receiued him within his land, & fauourably hath entreated him & diuers others of our Rebells, during the peace concluded betwixt vs both,[h] & ouer that, hauing him in his companie, entred in puissance within our land, the which was the cause & ground of breache of the said peace, & less therefore may wee not do with our honor, then to haue the deliuerance of him, though the deliuerance or hauing of him is of noe price or value.

"Item, if our said Cosen shall not be agreeable to the deliuerance of the said Perkin vnto vs, as is before rehersed, the which as wee thinke (sith he is not the person that he surmised him to be, when hee obtained his sauff-conduct of our said Cosen, as it is well knowne through all these parts of the world,) hee might with his honor and without his damage well doe, and so satisfie our mynde for our honor on that behalf:"—another mode is suggested

[g] 22d June, 1497.

[h] The King alludes to the peace of 25 June, 1493.

of arranging a peace, namely, by a solemn embassage to be sent from Scotland, and king James himself to come in person to Newcastle.

"And finally you shall by all wise meanes to you possible, endeavor your self to haue the said Perkin deliuered vnto vs, and also ye saide solemne ambassage to bee sent vnto vs, as is before rehersed, the which to obtaine and haue, should bee to the conseruation of our honnor, and most to our desire and pleasure."

And in case James refused all these propositions, then the articles proposed at Jenynhaugh to be accepted.

The credit of suggesting this negotiation is ascribed by Polydore to Pedro de Ayala, Prothonotary, and envoy from the king of Spain to James the Fourth,[i] and in the truce concluded for seven years at Aytoun, on 30 Sept. he appears as mediator between the English and Scotch commissioners.[j] On the 4th October following he received also a separate commission from James, impowering him to treat with Dr. Warham, and by them the truce was prolonged to the life-time of both monarchs.

It will be seen, that previous to the date of the Bishop of Durham's instructions, Perkin had obtained from the king of Scotland letters of safe-conduct,[k]

[i] Some of our modern historians, misled by Bacon, represent Ayala as having been ambassador to Henry, and sent by him to Scotland, which is not true. The Spanish envoy, then resident at London, was Don Rodriguez Gonzales de Puebla, sent in July, 1497, to arrange the alliance of marriage between Catharine and Prince Arther. *Rymer*, xii. 658. See p. 189.

[j] Rymer, xii. 673.

[k] In the articles of truce made at Aytoun, the 6th stipulated that rebels and enemies were not to be received in the dominions of either sovereign, but banished within twenty days, or surrendered. Then comes a clause—"Salvis *conductibus* per principes predictos aut eorum aliquem de præterito concessis." Rymer, xii. 675. The letters patent of James, confirming these and the other articles of 5th Dec. were dated 10 Nov. 1497-8; but Henry did not like the above clause, and in his Instructions to Christopher Carhill, Norroy, sent to the king of Scots subsequently, preserved in MS. Cott. Vesp. C. XVI. f. 115, a proposal is made relative to it as follows. "It'm in the same article be left out thies wordes *salvis conductibus*, &c. For the pryncipall cause moeving his seid Cousyne [James] to put in the seide wordes *salvis conductibus*, &c. was for a graunt of saue conductes made by [hym] to *Perkyne*, and othere his adherentes, the Kynges rebelles. And forasmuch as [at] this tyme the said Perkyne is in the Kynges kepying, and at the commandement of his grace, and shalle never vse the benefaicte of the said saue conductes; and also his adherentes, the Kinges rebelles, be departed out of his seid Cosyne his realme; and

and shortly after he received his dismissal from James in civil terms. There was no remedy;—and Perkin, accompanied by his wife and a slender retinue, again embarked, and once more sailed to Cork, where he arrived on the 26th July.[1] Here, however, he met with only a cold reception, and narrowly escaped being taken by the earls of Desmond and Kildare, who probably would have gladly embraced so good an opportunity of making amends for their former rebellion. In this extremity, intelligence arrived of the discontented state of the Cornish men, who, in spite of their late defeat, were willing again to join in insurrection against the King, and Perkin, urged on by the councillors about him,—who advised him no longer to trust to the promises of kings, "who would sell poor princes for shoes,"[m] but to boldly venture on a higher stake, the inclinations of the populace,—set sail with two small ships and a pinnace, accompanied by about six-score men, and landed in Whitsand Bay on the 7th September.[n]

The issue of this short-lived and ill-concerted attempt may be read in André, Polydore Vergil, and Hall, and with more interest in some curious letters from

if thei shuld vnder the coloure of theire seid saue conductes resorte and repaire into the same realme agayne, and there to haue aide and socure, there myght growe a gruge betwene the Kynges grace and his seid Cousyn; and to thentent that betwene the Kyng and his seid Cosyne there should be no gruge, nor coloure of gruge, it is thought expedient thoes words touchying suche saue conductes to be left out."

[1] See a letter from the King to the mayor and citizens of Waterford, thanking them for the information they had conveyed by their letters of the 1st. Aug. of Perkin's landing, and his intention to sail thence to Cornwall, and praying them to send forth ships to the sea for the taking of Perkin, for whom the sum of 1000 marks is offered in reward. Dated Westm. 6 Aug. (1497). Ryland's *Hist. of Waterford*, p. 32. It is to be regretted that the curious letters in this local work are given in so unsatisfactory a form, both to the antiquary and historian. The compiler of the book does not even think it worth his while to inform his readers where the originals are deposited, but I presume they exist in the archives of the city of Waterford. Comp. Ware's *Annales*, p. 60.

[m] Bacon, p. 179.

[n] Comp. the King's letter to Sir Gilbert Talbot, dated 12 Sept. in Ellis's *Orig. Lett.* i. 32. 1st. ser. Hall, fol. xlv[b], and act of attainder, *Rot. Parl.* vi. 544[b].

It seems that Perkin narrowly escaped being captured whilst on his transit, for he was pursued by "four great ships," fitted out at the expense of the citizens of Waterford, who in a petition to the King a few years afterwards (1499) claim thereby the merit of having caused him to fall into the King's hands. *Hist. of Waterford*, p. 38.

the king, the Earl of Devon, and the Bishop of Bath, printed by Sir Henry Ellis.[o] Perkin fled from Taunton on the 21st Sept. to the sanctuary at Beaulieu, in the New Forest, and on the 5th Oct. was brought back prisoner to the King (then at Taunton), and carried with him to Exeter, where Henry arrived on the 7th October.[p] The narrative of André relating to Perkin's surrender, and what subsequently took place at Exeter, is worthy of notice, from its containing circumstances overlooked by all other writers.

The Lady Catharine, Perkin's wife, had been taken prisoner at St. Michael's Mount (a few days previous to the 18th October), and brought to the King in an honorable manner,[q] on account of her noble birth; and after Perkin had openly confessed to the King the history of his life and imposture,[r] Henry caused the Lady Catharine to be brought in, and having addressed a few words of sympathy to her,—called forth no less by her beauty and youth, than by her tears and affliction,—he caused Perkin to repeat to her the confession he had already made, which, the historian assures us,—hesitating between fear and shame,—he at length complied with. Shortly after, the Lady Catharine was sent to the Queen at Richmond, "accom-

[o] *Orig. Lett.* i. 1st ser. from transcripts in vol. 50 of Dodsworth's Collections. The originals seem to have been found among the papers of the Plumpton family. It is also stated, that a paper giving an account of Perkin's landing, signed by Sir Henry Wentworth, and dated 16 Sept. 1497, exists in Mr. Upcott's hands. *Report of the Committee on the British Museum*, pt. 2 (3781). See also a long and valuable letter from the King to the city of Waterford on the subject, dated from Exeter, 18 Oct. in Ryland's History, p. 33.

[p] See *Excerpt. Hist* p. 114.

[q] Polydore merely says, "ad regem *captivam duxerunt*," which Hall translates, "brought her streight like a bonde woman & captyve to the Kyng." fol. xlvii [b].

[r] In the same manner the King writes to the Mayor of Waterford:—"And so the said Perkin came unto us to the town of Taunton, from whence he fled; and immediately after his first coming, humbly submitting himself to us, hath of his free will openly shewed, in the presence of all the lords here with us and all nobles, his name to be Pierce Osbeck, whence he hath been named Perkin Warbeck; and to be no Englishman born, but born of Tournay, and son to John, sometime while he lived comptroller of the said town, with many other circumstances too long to write; declaring by whose means he took upon him this presumption and folly; and so now the great abuse which hath long continued, is now openly known by his confession." *Hist. of Waterford*, p. 35. All this is very important, because it tallies with André's account, and with the Confession subsequently published, which therefore could not have been so deliberate a fabrication at or after Perkin's trial, as Walpole and the writers on his side would have us believe.

panied with a goodly sorte of sad matrones and gentlewomen,"[s] and on the 23rd of the same month, the King addressed a Latin letter to Docter Rodriguez Gonzales de Puebla, the Spanish envoy, in reply to a congratulatory epistle on the King's success. In this letter Henry writes: "We have sent the wife of Perkin to the queen, our illustrious consort, and we shall bring Perkin with us at our return, which we hope will be shortly. In respect to the Scots, we understand that a legation is determined on to be sent to us, but not such, nor so honorable, as we heard it would be from yourself; for we learn from the Bishop of Durham, that only a certain Prothonotary[t] will be appointed envoy.[u]"

The remainder of Perkin's history may be dismissed very briefly. He was brought to London on the 28th November,[w] and appears occasionally to have been permitted to ride out on horseback, attended by keepers, for the purpose of being exposed to the gaze of the multitude,[x] which ran to see him, as if he had been some monster.[y] At the beginning of June, he contrived to escape, but was taken again soon after, and on the 14th was set in a pair of stocks with great ignominy before Westminster Hall, and on the following day, on a scaffold in Cheapside read publicly the Confession printed in Hall, and expressly stated to have been written "with hys awne hand."[z] He was then committed to the Tower, where he remained until the November of the following year, 1499, when having attempted again to escape, he was on the 16th of that month, together with his accomplice John Water, a merchant and sometime Mayor of Cork,[a] arraigned for high treason. "And on the three and twenty

[s] Hall, *ibid.* In Henry's Privy Purse Expenses, on the 15th Oct. occurs the payment of £7. 13*s.* 4*d.* to Robert Suthewell, for horses, saddles, and other necessaries for conveying her to the Queen. *Excerpt. Hist.* p. 115.

[t] This of course was Pedro de Ayala. See p. 186.

[u] The entire letter is printed in the Appendix, No. 5. from the original in the British Museum.

[w] Fabyan, Stowe.

[x] The expenses of Perkin's "horsemete" is accounted for to the end of April, 1498, at 5*d.* a day, and on the 23rd of May, 11*s.* were paid for his riding gown. *Excerpt. Hist.* p. 117.

[y] Pol. Verg. and Hall.

[z] Hall, f. xlix[b].

[a] It appears from Smith's *History of Cork*, 8vo. Dubl. 1774. vol i. p. 422. that this *John Water* (or, as he is there called, *Walters*) was Mayor in the years 1490, 1494, and 1499. At

daye of the same month," says Hall, "Perkyn and John Awater were drawen to Tyborne, and there Perkyn standyng on a lytle skaffolde, redde his Confession, whiche before you have heard, and toke it on hys death to be true, and so he and Jhon Awater asked the king forgeuenes, and dyed paciently."[a]

Having thus traced Perkin's career from the period of his first appearance until his death, I shall trespass but a very short time longer on the time of your Lordship and the Society. The circumstances connected with his various turns of fortune are too remarkable not to excite an interest with all who are fond of sifting thoroughly the obscurer portions of English History; for, as Lord Bacon truly remarks, "it was one of the strangest examples of a personation that ever was, in older or latter times;" and an earlier writer[b] says, in reference to Perkin's long continued practices against the King, that "the push it gave to his soveraignty did throughly try his sitting, being of force enough to have cast an ordinarie rider out of sadle."

It was not my intention, in laying these Documents before the Society, to canvass *seriatim* the arguments advanced by the writers on opposite sides of the question, but chiefly to confine my remarks to the illustration of the documents themselves. It will however doubtlessly have been collected from the whole tenor of this communication, that my sentiments, on a candid review of

the time of Perkin's first landing or shortly after, the Mayor was John Lavallen, who is named also in the Confession, but it is stated in the same paper, that John Water was one of the first promoters of his enterprise. Ware adds in his Annals a singular report, that Perkin had been an apprentice to him, p. 38. In 1493, the same Water, together with his son Philip, Dean of Limerick, were cited to appear before the Parliament at Dublin, *ib.* p. 41; and in the general pardon to the rebel Irish, 26 Aug. 1496, Lord Barry and John Water are expressly excepted. *Rymer*, xii, 634. In the articles also sent to the Irish House of Commons, as registered on the Patent Rolls, 28 March, 18 Hen. VIII. [1497-8] there is a clause: "Item, prayen the Commons, that forasmoche as William Barry, called the Lord Barry, of Monster, and oon *John Water*, of our Cite of Cork, merchant, have nowe of late at severall tymes receyved as well lettres with certain instructions from *Parkyn Wosebeck*, and the same hath conceled, and as yet kepith secret from the knowlege of our sovereigne lord, and all and every of his most honorable Councell, contrary to their naturall duety of allegiaunce, &c. it be ordeyned and enacted by autorite of this present parlement, that the said William Barry and John Water, and either of them, be atteyned and convyct of high treason." &c. *Inedited collections of Rymer*, MS. Add. 4618. No. 2.

[a] Hall, f. li. [b] Speed. p. 738. ed. 1611.

the entire evidence, are decidedly unfavorable to Perkin's pretensions. There is, I admit, still much to be wished for; and had the Privy Council Books of Henry's reign been in existence, or the series of State Papers of that period complete,[c] much more might have been done to elucidate the course of events. But I may be permitted to remark, that by the publication of these documents, the greater part, if not all, the objections of Walpole, Laing, Bayley, and others, fall to the ground, whilst the counter-arguments of Lingard and Turner remain in full force. To sum up the whole in the words of Lord Bacon: "it was one of the longest playes of that kind that hath been in memorie, and might perhaps have had another end, if hee had not met with a King both wise, stout, and fortunate."

I have the honor to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient Servant,

FREDERIC MADDEN.

Rt. Hon. The Earl of Aberdeen, K.T.
President S.A. &c. &c. &c.

[c] It is not impossible, that among the *miscellaneous documents* at the Tower, there may exist some of the private correspondence relating to Perkin. I am one of those who regret, that all papers of this description, in whatever Office of Record they may exist, have not been transferred to the British Museum, where they might be consulted with far greater facilities, as in the case of the Pipe Rolls.

APPENDIX, No. I.

Extract from the inedited Life of Henry VII. by Bernard André, MS. Cott. Dom. A. XVIII. *so far as relates to Perkin Warbeck.*

[fol. 208 b.] *De Perquino.*

Verum est quod vulgo dicitur, invidia moritur nunquam; hoc siquidem in eo, quod mox dicturus sum, indigno facinore, luce clarius cernere est. Illa namque, salve (*sic*) regie stirpis reverentia, Margareta Burgundie, Juno quondam huic Regi altera, tantis pristinis odiis non saciata, novum quoddam et inauditum antea facinus in Regem nostrum excogitavit, ejusque immortale odium, quia eterna est mulieris ira, ad Regis nostri subditos derivare conata est. Non autem potuit ejus toxicum nisi leves ac futiles movere personas. Inter quas secretarius Gallicus Regie serenitatis, nomine Stephanus Frion, veneno muliebris suggestionis infectus, à Rege defficiens, cum aliquot sui ordinis nebulonibus transfuga, quicquid in Regem potuit demolitus est. Verum cognatus illius irritus extrema eumdem miseria mulctavit. Hujus autem factionis conspi[r]atores plurimi tunc nominati sunt, quos viritim recensere perlongum esset. Petreyum autem, quemdam Tornacensem, ab Edvardo quondam Judeo, postea à Rege Edvardo sacro levato fonte, in hac regione educatum, Regis Edvardi Quarti minorem filium effinxerunt, illumque per varias terras enutritum simulantes, tandem in Franciam, consilio predicti Fryon, ad Karolum Octavum perduxerunt; ymo vero Galli, ut aiunt, illum magnis pollicitacionibus, ut Regem nostrum deterrerent, ex Hibernia acciverunt. Qui, cùm rem suam cum Gallis parum succedere cognovisset, Junone illum revocante, in Flandriam profectus est; post in Hyberniam, coronationis gratia, prospero vento delatus, magnam barbarorum illius insule partem suis calidissimis subornavit tentacionibus. Explicabat enim, et ex prompta memoria repetebat omnia Edvardi Quarti tempora, omnesque illius familiares ac domesticos, uti fuerat instructus, et à parvulo noverat, memoriter recitabat. Addebat preterea locorum, temporum, personarumque circumstancias, quibus illorum hominum levitati facilius persuadebat. Usque adeo res hec tali velata figmento invaluit, ut prudentes quoque ac magna nobilitate viri ad idem credendum inducerentur. Quid tum postea? Prophetie quedam de illo longè latèque falsò à pseudo-prophetis divulgabantur, que vulgares et populares animos prorsus excecabant. Postremò, dolis fraudibusque male consulentium effectum est, ut è Flandria solvens in Angliam properaret, et eo potissimum tempore, quia Rex in longinquis regni sui remotisque longè à Cancio

partibus tunc occupatus erat. Quare paratis omnibus sumptu et impensa Junonis, armata classis in Cancium dirigitur. Cujus prefecti [a]
viri alioquin bello prestantes, se pelago fortuneque crediderunt. Canciani vero, superioribus castigati temporibus, formidolosi, primum dubitare, pars quid eis pro novissima conspiracione acciderat, cogitare, Christum enim paulo ante cum apostolis in mundum rediisse, ut aiunt, effingentes, ignaros agrestes seduxerant, condignasque factis penas luerant. Quas ob res, post jam memorate classis appulsionem, unanimiter regiis hostibus repugnare decreverunt. Consilio autem coacto, primum illos humaniter ad terram recipientes, auxiliaria arma polliciti sunt. Navis autem Petrey vento, ut fertur, adversante, seu, ut alii volunt, illo jam dolum suspicante, longe relicta fuit. Que cum alios jam captos audivisset, fuga salutem comparavit. Illi vero, desperatis rebus, ubi se delusos cognoverunt, primo de fide queri, post confligere, sed ab N.[a]
facile superati sunt, et ad certum diem Londinum, restibus, ut fures, ordine vincti, preter vulneratos qui bigis ducebantur, magna omnium expectacione ingressi sunt. Et post aliquot dies alii capite pleri, alii laqueo vitam finierunt, numero pene quadringenti. Rex autem qui visitandi regni gratia ab urbe, ut dixi, longè tunc aberat, Deo semper gracias agens, ubi illos captos audivit, talia placido reddidit ore.

Regis gratulatio.

"Non sum nescius, misericordissime Jesu, quantus in hunc Saturni diem [b] precibus tue piissime matris michi victorias contulisti, quas quidem omnes non meis meritis, sed dono celestis gratie tue ascribo. Vides, benignissime Jesu, quot in me insidias, quot fraudes, quot tela paravit atrox illa Juno, que tamen post nostrum connubium se letabundam simulans, omni nos favore ac benevolencia prosecuturam, bona fide promiserat. Sed vento mobilior, omnia divina et humana pervertens, Deum non timet, sed in suum sanguinem infensa molitur exicium. Tu, Deus, qui omnia nosti, si meremur, ab hiis quoque malis nos libera; sin peccata nostra meruere pati, fac nobiscum in beneplacito tuo. Gratias nichilominus tue gracie debemus immortales, quas etsi lingua pro dignitate non possumus, habendi tamen bono semper sumus animo. Et ea quidem mente, ut nulla unquam prosperitas, nulla adversitas, nulli casus, nulla diversitas locorum aut temporum tui nos faciat esse immemores."

[a] Blank spaces are left in the MS. for the names.

[b] Bacon says on Henry's accession: "He entered the city upon a *Saturday*, as hee had also obtained the victory [at Bosworth] upon a *Saturday*, which day of the weeke, first upon an observation, and after upon memory and fancy, he accounted and chose as a day prosperous unto him." *Hist. Hen. VII.* p. 7. ed. 1641.

His ita à modestissimo Rege explicitis, quid in reliquum tempus agendum esset, cum suo gravissimo Consilio deliberat. Interim Pirquinus cum Junone sua, spe sua frustratus, varias in partes animum ad exequendum propositum applicat. Tandem multa versantibus, commodissimum visum est, ut ab incepto victi non desisterent, sed malis mala superadderent, quare Juno sic exorsa est.

Oratio Junonis.

" Siccine quare, nepos, conatibus nostris fata repugnant? siccine Henrici providentia nos semper eludet? O Britonum adversus progeniem nostram miranda potencia! Jam superioris etatis inter illos et nos tot bella gesta meminisse juvat, quibus illi semper inferiores extitere. Nonne usque ad Calvaladri tempora Saxonum invicta manus Britones cunctos perdomuit? Nonne Britannicus sanguis hoc uno Henrico nostram posteritatem jam subacturus est? Equidem si non melius nobis prospexerimus, Trojanus ille sanguis stirpi nostre finem imponet. Quare sagaci mente quid contra faciendum sit, investigemus. Ibis itaque, mi dilectissime nepos, ac Regi Romanorum Maximiliano adversam fortunam nostram signifficabis; semper illud in animo et in pectore, quod inter nos de fratris mei filio effictum est, cautè dissimulans. Addes preterea jacturam fortune prefectorum, quos illustrissimus filius ejus, Philippus Archidux, tibi in auxilium dederat, ab eodem Henrico sine misericordia trucidatos. Propterea si te juvare valuerit, te spem maximam ostendes habere, semel propositi nostri fore compotes, eidemque supremi cubicularii Henrici, aliorumque litteras dominorum ad te proximè datos, secretò significabis."

De conjuratione domini Guill'i Stansle.

Hic locus hortari videtur, ut serenissimi Regis nostri tunc supremi cubicularii, domini Guillermi Stansle, conjurationem attingamus. Fuere sub idem tempus viri sanè doctissimi religiosissimique cum predicto cubicolario in conjuratione deprehensi, inter quos quia excellenti sacrarum litterarum scientia precellebat, primum Sancti Dominici Ordinis Predicatorii provincialem commemoro egregium, deinde doctorem theologum, magistrum Sutum, preterea decanum Sancti Pauli Londini,[c]
et quosdam alios, quorum nomina non occurrunt. Hii omnes pecunias ad Pirquinum vel dederant, vel ab aliis datas clanculò miserant. Verum cubicularius omnium ditissimus, magnos pecuniarum acervos possidebat, quibus illum et tutari et in regnum adducere promiserat. Sed quamvis ex illo preclaro sanguine Stansle editus erat, non debet tamen ejus culpa clarissimos sui generis offendere. Nam, ut inquit apostolus, figulus quedam

[c] A blank is left in the MS. The Dean's name was William Worseley.

fingit vasa ad honorem, et quedam ad contumeliam, et ex eadem massa; fides autem constancia et veritas reliquorum illius generis illa tempestate luce clarius enituit, claretque indies eorum fidelissima sanè erga Regem nostrum observantia inconcussa. Sed ad illum redeamus. Postquam regia majestas tum litteris tum relatu strenui militis domini Roberti Clifort, qui etiam à Rege defecerat, et in Flandriam cum Perquino auffugerat, primum, ut sapiencie ipsius est mos, que de illo referebantur vera ne essent omnia prudentissimè percontatus est, atque ubi sic se habere comperiit, ipsum cubicularium legibus suis puniendum commisit, sicque capite truncatus est. Viros autem illos, quos supra memoravi ecclesiasticos, propter ecclesie dignitatem vita donatos dimisit. Post aliquot vero dies Supremum indixit Consilium, quo quidem tempore Pirquinus Tornacensis oriundus, Maximiliano et aliis adjutoribus, in Hyberniam delatus, idem facere consultus est. Celebrato tandem Consilio.[d]

qui illum gubernabant, optimum factu visum est, ut in Scociam formidine pene diverteret. Coacta igitur classe, in Scociam venit, ibidemque à Rege Scotorum humanissimè susceptus est. Postremò Rex errore deceptus, ut plerique alii etiam prudentissimi antea principes, quia ille diffidere de Scotis videbatur, eodem hoc postulante, de uxore sibi matrimonio copulanda curavit. Dataque est illi egregiis orta natalibus, Regique illi consanguinitate propinquis parentibus illustris domina[e]

preclaris dotata moribus; peractaque conjugii celebritate, cum suis liberis, jam Scotorum auxilio fretus, [f]iterum Angliam petere temptavit, delatusque per occiduas insule oras tandem in Cornubiam venit. Illi vero incolle fulsis illius suggestionibus decepti, Regis Edvardi Quarti natu minorem filium crediderunt, illique tenaciter adheserunt.

De secunda Pirquini invasione.

Serenissimus Rex noster, audito nebulonis adventu, subridens, 'Et ecce iterum ab isto nebulonum principe tentamur,' ait. 'Ite igitur, et ne meorum per ignorantiam subditorum strages aliqua accidat, Pirquinum blandis experiamur habere modis. Cor-

[d] A blank left in the MS.

[e] *A blank is left.* The lady in question was Lady Catharine Gordon, daughter of George second Earl of Huntly, and a near relation of the king of Scotland, by her mother Annabella, daughter of James the First. After Perkin's death, she was married secondly to Sir Matthew Cradock, and lies buried with him in Swansea church, co. Glamorgan. (See Walpole's *Hist. Doubts*, p. 135, ed. 4to. 1768,) and *Excerpta Historica*, p. 115.

[f] André omits, as Pinkerton has already noticed, all mention of the expeditions of James IV. into England, and has also confounded, apparently, the rising of the Cornish rebels under Joseph and Flammock, with Perkin's attempt on Exeter.

nubii autem una cum papilione suo Exonie portis ferro ignibusque insultabant; Comes autem Davonie pro viribus resistebat.[g] Rex vero copias miserat, ut non in nebulonem pugnarent, sed ut patriam populumque à malis deffenderent. Reliqua hujus invasionis, quia memoria non teneo, donec pleniore hujus rei sciencia instruar, campo hic quoque relicto supersedeo.[h]

Pirquini Deditio.

Rebus itaque suis jam diffidens ganeo ille predictus, videnque Regis nostri potencie refragari non posse, neque regiis elabi manibus, animo imbelli effeminatoque totus tremore correptus, ac viribus destitutus, ita suos alloquitur.

Pirquini Vecordia.

"Videtis, commilitones mei, Dei maximi potenciam nostris contra stare conatibus; videtis Henrici regum victoriosissimi virtutem et gratiam cum Dei voluntate ita conjunctam, ut adversus illum omnes vires nostre casse prorsus ac nulle debilitentur et concidant. Videtis preterea rerum omnium egestatem atque inopiam nostram, et, ut verius dicam, miseriam. Namque ut vobis nunc verum fatear, quamvis in hunc diem stipendia vobis dare distulerim, profecto nichil michi relictum est, nec nummus quidem; atque haud scio unde habeam, aut quid de me faciam, ita me formido et conscientie timor expugnant, quippe ut aperta veritatis luce, consilium meum, quod hactenus vos celavi, aperiam. Certe quem me vobis esse dixeram Edvardi filius, non sum, neque tali tantaque prosapia dignus. Et quicquid olim signorum aut temporum vobis callidus retuli, totum illud quum parvulus Edvardi quondam Judei, ac ante memorati Regis Edvardi filioli, in Anglia servulus eram, memoriter retinui. Erat enim ille patronus meus Regi Edvardo ac suis liberis familiarissimus. Quare jam michi parcite, queso, et pro vita vestra viriliter agite. Ego enim quo me vertam, quove fugiam, nescio. Tamen utcunque erit, mansuetissimo Regi priusquam peream, dedere me certum est."

His in hunc modum ignavia atque socordia cum lachrimis ad suos expositis, in Belli Loci sanctuarium misellus effugiens se recepit. Postea vero à pientissimo Rege vite veniam postulavit, qua illum Rex quoque donavit clementissimus.[i]

Tremebundus adducitur, joculariterque ab ipsis regiis servitoribus sugillatus, ex-

[g] See a letter from the Earl of Devonshire to the King, dated 18 Sept. [1497] giving an account of the attack, in Ellis's *Orig. Lett.* vol. i. p. 36. first Series.

[h] A blank space of several lines is here left in the MS.

[i] A blank space in the MS. of three lines.

sibillatusque, ridiculum caput miris modis objurgatus est. Interea jussu regio uxor ejus nobilis, que apud Divi Michaelis Montem relicta fuerat, honorificè, propter ejus nobilitatem, adducta est. Qualia vero modestissimus Rex noster illi primitus indignissimo gerrioni verba fecerit narrare, michi est perdifficile, quandoquidem singulari ea colloquio gesta fuere, tum quia ingenioli mei parvitas tot sapientissimi Regis non capit prudentissimas raciones. Verum hoc unum scio, ipsum Regem tantis per illum illustrium virorum mortibus illatis maximè condoluisse. Ille videns Regis benignitatem, sue jam vite securus, audacter totius vite atque audacie tenorem ac seriem explicavit, tam postea ut in publicum, ad improborum terrorem, exiret, literarum monumentis Rex imprimi demandavit.[k] Post deinde conjux illius modesto venustoque vultu, egregia forma, atque etate integra, in regium conspectum magno cum rubore et abortis lachrimis producta est. Cui Rex benignissimus humanissimo sic protulit ore.

Regis ad illam Oratio.

" Doleo equidem, illustris domina, et mecum egerrimè fero, post tot meorum subditorum cladem, vos à tali homuncione fuisse delusam. Nam sanguinis vestri nobilitas, morum ac totius corporis prestantia, forma, et dignitas, alium longè prestantiorem virum expostulabant. Sed quia Deo ita placuit, ut perfidia et improbitate istius nebulonis ad hunc miserum statum perveniretis, equo vos animo perferre ac pati oportet; ceterumque tempus hoc pluribus non indiget; vos equidem hortor et moneo ut casum vestrum equanimiter tolleretis. Polliceor autem hoc regia fide prestancie vestre, quod postquam Deo volente huc accessistis, non aliter quúm propriam sororem me vos pertracturum, utque honestius posthac securiusque maneatis, ad serenissimam Reginam, conjugem meam charissimam, vos cum honore ac bonis comitibus mittere decrevimus. Hunc autem maritum vestrum nobiscum adhuc, certas ob causas ab eodem intelligendas, retinebimus."

His dictis, illam lachrimarum fonte madentem, quia semper humi genibus se prostrabat, stare Rex jussit, maritumque suum sibi que Regi dixerat, eadem referre precepit. Ille partim timore, partim verecundia aliquandiu hesitans, tandem non illum quem se esse dixerat, apertè fateri, veniam orare, sibi malè fuisse consultum, dolere propter illius abductionem, Regem ipsum orare, ut illam ad suos remitteret. Que postquam explevit omnia, ipsa ejulatu sublato, gemebunda in hec verba prorupit:

[k] In the margin is written by the same hand *Pirquini vita imprimitur.* This is important, as it at once overthrows the objections against Perkin's Confession, because it is omitted bv Fabian and Polydore Vergil.

" Illius uxoris Responsio.

" Postquam me, o perfidissime hominum, tuis falsis narrationibus seducere volebas, quare me è patriis laribus, domo, parentibus et amicis in hostiles manus abduxisti? O me miseram! quantos hic dies luctus, quantasve clarissimis parentibus meis sollicitudines dabit! O utinam ad oras nunquam advenisses nostras! Me miseram! Quid jam amplius nisi mortem, perdita pudicitia, expectam, non video. Hei michi! cur non habeo ex parentibus meis hic aliquem, qui de te supplicium sumeret. Scelestissime, heccine sunt illa que nobis septra (*sic*) promittebas? Sceleratissime, hiccine est ille regius honos quo genus nostrum decoratum iri jactabas? Equidem hic ignota, egens atque inops, quid sperem, in quo confidam, de quo dolorem meum leviam? Aliud videtur prorsus nichil, nisi quod Rex iste potentissimus clementissimusque se me non deserturam (*sic*) promisit; cujus ego regie promissioni omnem fidem, spem, ac salutem meum reposui. Plura dicerem, sed verba vis doloris ac lachrimarum reprimit."

Post hec sapientissimus Rex utrique illi ad culpam, huic in consultationem pro sua singulari prudentia verba faciens, ad Reginam, ut constituerat illam, destinavit. Que paulum remorata, virum propter conjugalem in Christo fidem egriusculè reliquit. Hujus autem ductores fuere.[l]
viri sanè et fide et probitate prestantes. Regina vero tunc apud Richemondiam, audiendi de regiis successibus cupiens, molestissimè residebat. Acta sunt autem hec.[m]
quo quidem tempore Oxonie (*sic*) Rex, in illos qui conspiraverant animadvertens, cunctos ad se duci jussit, quos ex alto sic allocutus est.

Regis ad Cornubios oratio.

" Gravi ac molesto gerimus animo, viri Cornubienses, nequitie et improbitatis vestre contra nos injuriam, quam quidem, teste Deo, inviti ad puniendum hodie processimus. Sed quia legibus nostris parere compellimur, ad malorum formidinem et bonorum exemplum, vos qui tam faciles ad malum animos habuistis, quique sine ullo aut Dei aut nostro timore, homini levissimo auxiliaria arma dedistis, neque cujusquam à nobis destinati admonitione cessastis, dignos meritis vestris penas rependere justum est; residuos vero qui partim errore, partim vestra in nos suggestione deliquerunt, vita donamus."

His breviter ab ipso Rege pronunciatis, omnes ferme qui circiter[o] vita donati fuerant, inter se vincti clamore cum gemitu sublato, Regi maximas gracias agitabant.

The work breaks off here abruptly.

[l] A blank is left for the names.

[m] Another blank. The king arrived at Exeter on the 7th Oct. 1497, and remained several weeks. See *Excerpta Historica*, p. 114.

APPENDIX, No. II.

Letter addressed by Perkin Warbeck to Isabella, Queen of Spain.

[From the Original in the British Museum.]

Serenissima & excellentissima princeps: Domina & consanguinea plurimum honoranda. Vre Maiestati me plurimum cõmendo. Cũ pmogenitus quondam Regis Anglie[n] Edwardi pie memorie: dñi et parentis mei carissimi Princeps Walie: miserando funere extinctus fuisset: Egoq; eciam nonum fere agens annum traditus essem cuidam domino extinguendus: placuit divine clementie: ut ille dominus innocentie mee misertus: me viuum & incolumem seruauerit. cum tanen (*sic*) pmo supra sacrum corpus dñi jurejurando me adegerit: ne nomen genus et familiam usq; in annos certos cuippiam propalarem. Misit ergo me peregre: cum duobus viris qui me custodirent ac gubernarent. Inde ego pupillus: patre atq; fratre Regibus orbus: exul Regno patria: hereditate: cunctisq; fortunis expoliatus: per magna pericula pfugus in metu et luctu et merore egi miserum etatem. & fere annis octo per diversas provincias latitaui. Tandem altero eoꝝ qui me gubernabāt defuncto: altero in patriam misso & nunq; postea viso: vix puericiam egressus: solus utq; egens: mansi ad tempus in Regno Portugallie; inde in Hyberniam nauigaui. Vbi cognitus ab Illustribus Dñjs comite Exmonie et comite de Quildara: consanguineis meis: simul et ab alijs insule proceribus: magno gaudio et honore acceptus fui. Inde cum Rex Francie multis nauibus & comeatu me euocasset: pollicitus opem et auxilium contra Henricum Richemundie Regni Anglie iniquum detentorem: veni ad predictum Regem Francie: qui me ut cognatũ et beniuolum honorifice suscepit. Cumq; minime auxilium pollicitum prestaret: contuli me ad Illmam pncipem Dñam Ducissã Burgũdie parentis mei sororem: amitam meam carissimam: que pro sua humanitate et virtute: omni me pietate et honore amplexa est. Simul eius gratia Serenissimus Rex Roꝝ: eiusq; filius archidux Austrie: et Dux Saxonie Consanguinei mei carimj Necnon Reges Dacie & Scotie: qui ad me oratores amicicie et confederationis gratia miserunt. Idem magni proceres Regni Anglie secreto fecerunt: qui huius Henrici de Richemundia superbam & iniquam tyrannidem execrantur. Verum serenissima princeps Domina et consanguinea cum pro jure nre cognationis: et vre inclite virtutis: in qua ceteros mundi principes justicia: Rebus gestis et felicitate antecellit: non minus q[a] ceteros pncipes deceat vicem nram dolere: & nos pio amore prosequi: Oro atq; obtestor Vram Maiestem dat operam apud Serenissimum coniugem: vt simul cum vra clementia tantaꝝ calamitatum familie nre misereatur. & in iure meo: quod eciam vrm est: me atq; meos fauore ope et auxilio prosequatur. Polliceor enim si diuina gratia hereditarium

[n] This word is interlined.

Regnū mihi restituerit: maiore coniunctione et amicicia vtriq; vr̃e Maiestati me futurum: q̃ fuerit Rex Eduardus. Simul me atq; Regnum: non secus q̃ vr̃m. vr̃is beneplacitis fore paratissimum. Bene valeat vr̃a Inclita maiestas: Ex opido Andermunda. Octauo kallendas Septembris. anno 1493.

E. V. M.

Consanguineus Ricardus plantagenet Regis quondam Eduardi secundus filius Dux Eboracensis &c.

Richard

Addressed: Serenissimæ & Excellentissimæ p̃ncipi. Domine Ysabel Regine Castelle. Aragonie. Sicilie. Granate, &c^{a}. Domine & consanguinee mee honorandissime.

Indorsed in a contemporary Spanish hand.

+

a la Reyna. n. S.
De Richard el q̃ se dize
Rey de Inglaterra.

Written on half a sheet of paper: paper mark a large p. The seal is unfortunately gone, but the mark of the red wax remains. It was a signet, impressed on a band or ribbon.

APPENDIX, No. III.

Instructions given by King Henry VII. to Richmond, otherwise Clarenceux, King of Arms, on his being sent to Charles VIII. of France.

[MS. Cott. Cal. D. vi. fol. 18.]

H. R. Instructions bailleés à Richemont, Roy d'armes de Clairenceaulx, de [*ce qu'il*] aura à dire et remoustrer par le Roy nr̃e s^{r} à son fr̃e & cousin de [*France.*]

Premierement fera p̃tacion des lectres du Roy à sond' frere & cousin, avecques [*les*] tres affectueuses recommandacions à ce requises, et luy dira comme le Roy a rec [*u*] par les mains de son escuier Thomyn le Feure, les lectres de creance que sond' [*frere*]

et cousin luy escripuoit par messire Georges le Grec; En luy remoustrant e ..... icelluy messe. Georges estoit tumbé en chemin fort mallade de la goute, tellem[*ent*] qu'il ne pouoit venir deuers le Roy, pour accomplir sa charge.

Apres luy dira comme le Roy a sceu & entendu par led' escuier, que naguaires [*sont*] ariuez deuers sond' frere & cousin, ses ambassadeurs, l'archiuesque de Rans, et [*Monseigneur*] de la Trymouille. Lesquelz il auoit enuoyez en ambassade deuers le Roy des Ro[*mains*], et luy ont dit & rapporté le vouloir & desir que led' Roy des Romains a de ayd[*er*] & fauourizer celluy qui se nomme Plantagenet, et estre filz du feu Roy Edo-[*uard*], et qu'il est deliberé de luy ayder de gens, de faveur, et de ce qu'il pourra. Et à [*cette*] intencion est allé en Flandres, auec bonne puissance. Dont led' frere & cousin du Roy l'a bien voullu aduertir, pour y pourueoir, & s'en prendre garde.

Disant oultre, que Icelluy son frere & cousin, pour moustrer au Roy l'amour qu'il [*luy*] porte, comme Il luy a esté aydant à conquerir le Royalme d'Angleterre, lu[*y*] vouldroit ayder & fauourizer à le garder et deffendre, et que le Roy advise[*ra de la*] forme & maniere de bien pourueoir à son affaire, et dilligeaument, et qu[*ant le*] cas le requiert, à ce que le Roy ne soit souprins.

Offrant comme son bon frere, que non obstant l'armeé qu'il a fait par [*mer et*] par terre, pour l'emprinse du Royaulme de Naples, qu'il luy aydera & favou[*riza*] voulentiers pour la conseruacion dud' Royaulme d'Angleterre, et st ..... que le Roy se puisse ayder des nauires de Bretaigne, Normandie, e ..... besoing en a pour son fuice, en les payant raysonnableme[*nt, et*] ce ne feust l'affaire qu'il a de sad' entreprinse, eust dein .....: tout & tel secours qu'il luy eust sceu demander.

Plus, luy a remoustré led' escuier, que sond' frere & cousin ne sou..... que led' garson puisse recouurer gens de son obeyssance, pou ..... a fait reffuz à aucuns qui luy en ont fait requeste, am..... leur vie.

..... et pardessus ce, luy a dit, que led' frere & cousin du Roy..... soingner des nauires et gens, qu'il veu ..... andant à ses v... d.....

Et pourtant qu'il dit que l'affaire pourroit estre soudain, Icelluy [*son frere & cousin*] a ordonné et commandé mandement, que tous ceulx qui vouldront aller... le Roy, ilz y puissent aller, et semblablement les nauires, en les payant con ..... disant que sond' frere & cousin seroit tres deplaisant, qu'il [*ne*] peust venir incon ..... au Roy, pour la fraternité qu'ilz ont ensemble, à quoy le Roy saura bien pou[*ueoir*] par bon conseil et aduis.

Dont, et des bons aduertissemens, et auec les honnourables offres que led' frere [*et cousin*] du Roy luy fait en ceste partie, mesmement des inionctions donnez à ses gens [*et*] officiers, le Roy l'en remercye le plus trescordiallement que faire peult, et ne [*les*] reffuse pas, mais les accepte, parce qu'il congnoist & apperçoit bien, que ce [*iuy*]

meult & procede de bonne & cordialle amour, et qu'il desire le bien & prosperité d[*u*] Roy comme le sien propre, qui est vng tresgrant resiouyssement & confort [*au*] Roy, et à tous ses subgetz, en tant qu'ilz congnoiscent, que ce est meu & procede de son propre mouuement.

Et se peult led' frere & cousin du Roy tenir pour tout asseuré, que le Roy est en ue[*rs*] luy de mesmes vouloir et disposicion, et bien deliberé de luy moustrer par ef[*fect*], quant le cas le requerroit; Combien que le Roy n'entent point, veu que la mat[*iere*] dud' garson est de sy petite estime & valeur, de mectre en paine ne trauail les subgetz de sond' frere & cousin, ne de luy donner cest ennuy pour cest affaire, ... quant le cas aduiendroit, qu'il en auroit besoing, le Roy se vouldroit ayder . . . . . plus voulentiers de luy que de nul autre prince; Et est le Roy bien deliberé [*que*] s'il venoit quelque fortune ou necessité à sond' frere & cousin, que dieu ne v[*ueille*], de faire le cas pareil pour luy.

Et au regart d'icelluy garson, le Roy ne fait estime nulle de luy, ne de toute sa . . . . . parce qu'il ne luy sauroit nuyre ou porter preiudice; car il n'y à seigneur ou . . . . . homme de façon ne d'auctorité oud' Royaulme d'Angleterre ne autres de qu[*elconque*] estat qu'ilz soient, qui ne congnoissent bien que ce n'est que vne abusion t[*res*] manifeste & evidente, pareille à l'autre que la duchesse douagere de Bour[*goinge*] fist, quant elle enuoya Martin Souart en Angleterre. Et est notoirement . . . . . que led' garson n'est d'aucune consanguinité ou parenté aud' feu Roy Edoua[*rd*], mais est natif de la ville de Tournay, et filz d'ung batellier, le quel s'appell[*oit*] Werbec, comme de ce le Roy est deument acertainé, tant par ceulx qui ont . . . . . sa vie & gouuernement, que par aucuns autres ses compaignons, qui sont . . . . . present auecq̃ le Roy, et les autres sont dela la mer, qui ont esté nourriz . . . . . en leurs jeunesse, lesquelz l'ont publiquemẽt declairé tout au long, cu . . . . . e Roy des Romains. Et n'y a point de faulte, que les subgetz du Roy le p . . . . . tresgrande desrizion, et non sans cause.

. . . . . ue quant ainsi seroit, que led' Roy des Romains feust en voulo[*ir de luy donner*] assistence, pour invader led' Royaulme d'Angleterre, ce [*que le Roy ne peult au*]cunement croyre, que luy ne autre prince le voulsist . . . . . abusion que cest, qui est desrogante à l'onneur de . . . . . prince honnourable y doit auoir es . . . . . plaisir de dieu, ne luy en pourre, veue . . . . . grant honneur, et encoires moins de prouffit. Et est le Roy bien sceur que led' [*Roy*] des Romains et les gens de façon de pardela congnoissent bien lad' abusion, [*et*] que ce qu'il en fait, est pour le desplaisir qu'il a prins, et prent, du traicté & app[*ointement*] que le Roy a fait auecq̃ sond' frere & cousin.

Encoires luy dira comme le Roy a sceu par led' escuier les droit; et tiltres que sond' frere & cousin pretend ou Royaulme de Napples, et la forme & maniere de l'enuoy et conduicte de l'armée qu'il a enuoyé, tant par mer que par ter[*re*] oud' Royaulme de

Napples. Laquelle il semble au Roy en son oppinion estre bien et prudentement ordonnée et conduicte, actendu les intelligences qu'il dit auoir es Ytalles.

Dont et de ce qu'il a pleu à Icelluy son frere & cousin si famillieremẽt l'aduertir de la disposicion de ses affaires, et de sesd' entreprinses & intelligences, sentien .. tresfort a tenu à luy, et l'en remercye. Neantmoins le Roy vouldroit voulent[*iers*], tant en consideracion de la propinuité (*sic*) de sang & linaige, qui est entre sond' fre[*re*] et cousin & luy, que aussi pour la fraternité qui est entre luy et led' Roy de Napples, le quel a receu son ordre de la Jarretière, qu'il se peust trouuer quelque bon traicté & appointemẽt entre eulx, et en especeal pour euiter l'effusion du sang humain, l'onneur et droit d'icelluy son bon frere & cousin gardé en ceste ..... Et semble au Roy, qu'il seroit trop enveulx, s'il pouoit estre moyen de paciff[*ier*] le different, à quoy se employroit de tresbon cueur, ayant congnoyssance du vouloir, plaisir et entencion de sond' frere & cousin sur ce, & non autremẽt.

Et pour ce que le Roy desire pareillement que sond' frere & cousin soit advert[*y*] de ses nouuelles, luy dira que, graces à dieu, le Roy est en bonne santé & prosper[*ité*] dé sa personne, et le Royaulme en bonne & paisible obeissance, autant qu'il a j[*amais*] esté en memoire d'homme. Ce voyant le Roy, et qu'il est en bonne paix, trans[*quillité*] et vnion, aussi bien en sond' Royaulme que partout ailleurs, à ceste cause [*il*] a conclu et deliberé de mectre ordre en son pais d'Irlande, assauoir sur ceu[*lx*] qui s'appellent Irlandois sauuaiges, affin qu'ilz puissent desormais viure ..... police & justice, comme font ceulx de sond' Royaulme, & les autres Irlandois [*de*] langue Angloisse. Et à ceste intencion, Il envoye vne bonne & suffisau[*nte armée*] accompaignée de bons et grans personnages, tant pour la guerre que [*pour la*] justice. Et de ce faire est tres instantement supplié & requis par les n[*otables*] gens d'eglise, grans seigneurs, et autres gens d'estat dud' pais, qui scay[*ent*] lad' langue Angloysse. Lesquelz sont en aussi bonne obeissance ..... ou temps de nul autre prince. Et à ceste fin sont venuz deuers .... de Duuelin, troys ou quatre autres euesques, le conte de Kildare ..... autres seigneurs et gens d'estat d'icelluy pais. Lesquelz sont en ..... [*aue*]cq̃ le Roy. Et n'y a point de faulte, que lad' armée a ..... y aller sera preste de passer ou moys de Septemb[*re*] ..... [*plu*]start.

..... luy dira que le Roy a entendu pareil[*lement*] ..... moys pũtement

.....

et que entre autres choses de sa charge led' frere & cousin du Roy luy [*a donné*] commandement de dire et remoustrer aud' Roy d'Escosse, que se leu ..... se vouloit parforcer de inuader led' Royaulme d'Angleterre, que ..... donne aucun port, faueur, ne assistence. Car de sa part Il est tou ..... deliberé de ayder et assister le Roy. Surquoy led' Richemont le rem[*ercyera*] trescordiallement, et prent le Roy à tresgrant plaisir de ce qu'il don[*noit*] ainsi à congnoistre aux autres princes de la grant amour & affection qu'il porte enuers luy. Et est le Roy bien deliberé de donner à

cõg[*noistre*] pareillement aux autres princes l'amour & affection qu'il luy porte [*de*] sa part.

Et finablement luy dira, que pour le desir et affection que le Roy a de so . . . . . estre acertenné de ses nouuelles, et qu'il en soit semblablement adverty [*des*] siennes, Le Roy l'enuoye deuers luy, Luy pryant que par luy, luy vu . . . . . faire sauoir de sesd' bonnes nouuelles, qui luy sera tresgrant resiouys[*sance*] et confort. Fait & expedié au Manoir de Shene, le xme Jour d'A[*oust*] l'an [*mil*] iiij^c^ iiij^xx^ xiiij.

HENRY R.

MEAUTIS.

[fol. 25.] *Advertissement apart à Richemont de ce qu'il aura à dire en secret aud' frere & cousin du Roi.*

Led' Richemont, quant il verra temps conuenable, remoustera en secret a[*ud'*] frere et cousin du Roy, que se (*sic*) le Roy des Romains se delibere de donner aide et assistence au garson qui se fait renommer Plantagenet, qu'il ne le fait sy non pource qu'il voit l'amytié estre sy grande et entiere entre le Roy et Icellui son frere & cousin, et qu'il ne peult trouuer moien d'y faire romptu . . Meismement pour le desplaisir qu'il prent de la paix que le Roy prinst auecques soud' frere et cousin.

Et peult estre que si le Roy se voulloit encoires incliner & condescendre au desir des intencions dud' Roy des Romains, il pourroit auoir auecques luy aussi grande intelligence et amytié qu'il eust jamais, et plus; ce que le Roy n'est pas deliberé faire, pour chose qu'il luy sauroit ou pourroit offrir. Puis est resolu entierement de tenir ferme & estable ce qu'il a fait et promis auecques Icellui son frere et cousin.

Et scayt bien le Roy, que ledit Roy des Romains entant qu'il voit que le Roy ne se veult nullement incliner à sa voulenté, desireroit voulentièrs trou[*uer*] moien à toutes fins, s'il pouoit, qu'il y eust vng autre Roy en Angleterre, du quel il se peust aider et faire à sa posté, pour puenir à son entrepr[*ins*]. Et quelque semblant que moustre, il est bon à veoir, qu'il se vouldroit voulentiers reuenger, s'il pouoit, aussi bien sur led' frere & cousin du Roy, q̃ sur le Roy. Ja soit ce qu'il n'a matiere ne cause raisonnable de ce faire, si non qu'il se fonde tousiours sur la prinse dud' traicté d . . appointement.

Mais le Roy espoire que sond' frere et cousin & luy seront à mo . . . . . de dieu, assez de puisance pour resister à sa malueillance. C[*ar*] il vouldroit ores aucune chose entreprendre sur eulx, estans [en] paix et vnion ensemble, comme ilz sont de present.

Indorsed in the handwriting of Richmond:

[*Instruct*]ions du Roy H. vij^e^. à Rychemont Roy d'armes de Claranceaux . . . . declairer au Roy Francoys.

APPENDIX, No. IV.

Deposition of Bernard de Vignolles, touching the plot of Prior John Kendal and others, to assassinate Henry VII. in favor of Perkin Warbeck.

[MS. Cott. Cal. D. vi. p. 30.[q]]

C'est la deposicion que fait Bernard de Vingnolles, à lĕcotre de de (*sic*) Sire Jĥn Quendal, grant prieur de l'ordre de Saint Jĥn de Roddes, Sire Jĥn Thonge, son neupeu, pareillem̃t cheuallier dud^t ordre, mestre archediacre Heusse, Jĥn Heusse, son neupeu, vng nõmé Lilly, & vng aultre Jĥn Watre, eulx deulx seruiteurs dud^t archediacre, & vng nõmé Wllām Wton, secretaire dud^t prieur de Saint Jĥn, les quelz congnoissent l'entreprinse que fist led^t prieur de Saint Jĥn & Sire Jĥn Thonge & l'archediacre Heusse, eulx troys estans à Rom̃e.

Premierem̃t les dessudis troys personnes estans en Rõme, firent cherche (*sic*) de trouuer moien & faczon de entreprendre faire mourir le Roy d'Angleterre, ses enffans, sa mere, & ceulx qui pensoiñt qui estoït pres de sa personne, & de son conseil, et à ceste intencion s'acouainterĕt d'un nomé Radigo, Espaigneul; & se alla ledit achediacre (*sic*) loger à sa maison, pensañt que led^t astrelogue sceut faire & acomplir l'amprinse que Ilz avoït en intencion, de quoy ledit Rodigo ne sceut faire. Finablem̃t firent serche (*sic*) tant, que Ilz trouuerĕt vng aultre, qui se nõme mestre Jĥn, Espaigneul, astreloge, au quel Ilz declairrem̃t leur intencion; le quel mestre Jĥn ouañt leur demande, fist responce, que y sauroit bien faire seus que Il (*sic*) luy deseroint. Et à ceste intencion intencion (*sic*) firent march[é] aud^t mestre Jĥn, po^r vne sõme d'argent; et pour plus grande apreuue que congneussĕt, que ledit mestr̃e Jĥn sauroi[t] bien faire ce que Il (*sic*) luy desiroiñt, I (*sic*) fist mourir vng Turc, qui estoit seruiter du frere du Grant Turc, à Rõme, au pallays du pappe. Et si lediz trois persõnages eu[sem̃t] deliuré la dite sõme d'argent, qu'ilz auoït promis audit astrelogue, Il leur promectoit que Il eust fait seus q[ue] luy auoït desiré de faire.

Item quant lesdiz troys personnages se partirĕt de [Rõme pour venir] en Engleterre, lesserĕt vng nõmé Stefen, seruit[eur dudit prieur] de Saint Jĥn, le quel est du pais de Sardine, avecque[s ledit mestre] Jĥn, Espaigneul, pour acomplir leur mouais voulloir [et intencion]; & pour ce faire, firent deliurer vne quantité d'argent aud^t [Stefen], & aud^t astrelogue, par banque, apres leur dit departem̃t de [Rõme]; le quel Bernard dit, que ledit astrelogue luy a demp[uis dit], que y (*sic*) ne luy auoït point voullu bailler

q The margins of the original have been burnt, but the words wanting are supplied from Rymer's transcript made when the document was complete, in MS. Add. 5485, fol. 230. The few letters in *italics* are supplied conjecturally.

asses argent [pour] acomplir l'amprinse que Ilz auoiñt cõmencé, & ne v[oulait] led' astrelogue y besoingner plus auãt, jusques à ce que I[l eust] eu nouuelles desdiz troys personnages; & cuide ledit Bernard, que led^t^ argent que Ilz fireñt deliurer aud^t^ astrelogue, [que ce] n'estoit seullemẽt sy non po^r^ entretenir led^t^ astrelogue, [atendan*t*] la sõme qu'ilz luy auoiñt promis, & que po^r^ lors Ilz n'[auoiñt] granmẽnt d'argent, que Ilz peussent departir, car Ilz au[oint] assez necessité po^r^ les mener en Engleterre.

Item deux ans apres que lesdiz troys personnages furẽt ari[uez] en Engleterre, delibererẽt par entr'eulx d'enuoier à Rõm[e vng] hõme, à la prierre & requeste dud^t^ archediacre, le quel [ne] cessoit aud^t^ prieur que Il y voulsist enuoier, & sur ce [furent] led^t^ prieur & archediacre d'un cõmun acord, d'y enuoie[r] ledit Bernart de Vinolles, les quelz lui cõmanderent [expresem*ent*] que I (*sic*) trouuãt moien de faire mourir l'astrelogue, qui au[oit] reffusé faire leur desir, pour cause que led^t^ prieur et archediacre auoiñt entendu cõme led^t^ astrelogue au[oit dit] en Rõme, que lesdiz prieur & archediacre, & led^t^ f^re^ Jhn [Thonge] avoint en intencion de faire mourir le Roy d'Engleterre; pareillemẽt cõmanderẽt aud^t^ Bernard, cõme Il eust pa[rlé à l'autre] astreloge, nõmé mestre Jhn Disant, que Il acomplist [sa promes], qui l'auoit promes deuãt leur partemẽt de Rõme, & [I (*sic*) ne] se soucyat du poyemẽt que Ilz luy auoiñt promis, car Ilz auoiñt peur que Il ne leur fist cõme Ilz auo[iñt en intencion] de luy faire faire à l'utre, (*sic*) qui est à entendre [la mort du] Roy, & dirrent aud^t^ Bernart, que Il eust d[it audit astreloge], que se luy estoit posible de faire ce que Il (*sic*) [luy desirount] de pardela sans venir en Engleterre, de pe[ur que I (*sic*) ne fust c]ongneu; sur quoy led^t^ astreloge f[ist responce audit Bernart], que pour acomplir plustost leur emprinse, que I (*sic*) vendroit en Engleterre, en l'abit d'ung frere, & pource que Il luy failloit deux dens audit astrelogue, Il en feroit faire deux de yviere, de la coule^r^ des siennes, & dist que I (*sic*) vendroit par mer, pour le plus sur, disant que Il alloit à saint Jacques; & croit led^t^ Bernard, que I (*sic*) ne tint q̃ pour faulte d'argent, que I (*sic*) n'avoit pour despendre par chemin, que led' astrelogue ne fust venu, aud^t^ Royaulme d'Engleterre.

Item au partemẽt dud^t^ Bernart de Rome, pour s'en retourner en Engleterre, ledit astrelogue luy bailla vne petite boueste de boys, en la quelle estoit vng oingnemẽt, le quel astrelogue enuoyẽt aud^t^ prieur de saint Jhn, & luy mandoit par ledit Bernart, que Il eust fait mectre led^t^ oingnemẽt, qui estoit en ladite boueste, au longe & trauers de quelque huys ou porte, par ou passeroit le Roy, affin que passat par dessus, le quel astreloge disoit, que s'il est ainsy fait, que ceulx qui auoĩt & portoint plus d'amour au Roy, que seroint ceulx qui turoiñt le Roy, & estoit en deffault que ledit astrelogue ne pouuoit aller en Engleterre; & quant led^t^ Bernart fut à son logis retourné, Il vint en sa chãbre, & ouurit ladite boueste, & vit que c'estoit vne villaine & horde puante chose, referma ladite boueste, & la vint gecter ou retrect, & le landemain ledit Bernart print son chemin, pour s'en retourner en Engleterre; & qñt Il fut à Orleans, Il luy souĩnt de ladite boueste, et de peur que led^t^ astrelogue n'eust escript aud^t^ prieur de St Jhn, cõme Il

luy auoit enuoyé vne telle boucste par ledᵗ Bernart, de peur que ledit Bernart ne fust blasmé, s'en alla ches vng apoticaire, achater vne telle boucste cõme estoit l'autre, & poʳ vne lyart d'argent viff, & s'en retourne à son logis, & en s[a chambre], & print terre seche, & de la suye de la chemineé, av[ecques] de l'eau, & la destrempa, & ledᵗ argent viff ensem[ble; pour] la faire de telle coulleʳ que celle q̃ ledᵗ astrel[ogue luy] auoit baillé, poʳ bailler audᵗ prieur de Sᵗ Jhn.

Item quãt ledᵗ Bernart fut ariué deuers ledᵗ prieur [de Saint Jhn] Il luy conta cõme ledit astrelogue luy avoit dit, & luy d[eliura ladit] boucste, [*que*] le prieur ne voullut toucher, pour ce que ledᵗ [Bernart] luy dist, que c'estoit grant danger de la toucher à cel[uy qui] auoit en volunté d'en faire mal, & que si elle demour[oit xxij] heures en sa meson, que se seroit à son grant dang[er, et] pource ledᵗ prieur cõmanda audit Bernart, que I[l allast . .] en quelque lieu, loingns de sa meson, & la jettat la ou [elle] ne fust point trouuée, & ainsy ledit Bernart fist, cõme luy auoit cõmandé.

Item bien tost apres troys ou quatre sepmaines, ledit prieur [vint] en la chambre ou estoit ledit Bernart, fort mallade, [et] dist audit Bernart, s'il luy estoit posible, que y (*sic*) pe[ust] cheuaucher pour s'en aller hors du royaulme d' Engle[terre], dissant, que Il fust allé en quelque pelerinage ou [à la maison de son] perre, pour se faire garir; que ledit prieur luy bail[leroit] argent et cheval, et ne le fasoit ledᵗ prieur cela, cy non de peur que ledit Bernart fust prins, et que Il eust reuelé . . . leur mouois voulloir & malice, au quel ledᵗ Bernart fist responce, que y (*sic*) feroit se que Il luy cõmandoit, [mais] neantmoins qu'il estoit fort feible, et que desque I (*sic*) pour[roit] cheuaucher, que Il iroit voluntiers ou il luy cõman[doit] d'aller; et dura ladite malladie audᵗ Bernart demp[uis] l'espace de demyan ou plus, par quoy ledᵗ prieur le luy parlla dempuis de aller della la mer; [et] apres q̃ ledᵗ Bernart fut guery, I (*sic*) de[manda] cõngie d'aller deuers ses parens, & de la ou Il [est] natiff, à intencion de faire avertir le Roy [de] ce que est cy desus dit, car Il n'ousoit [luy ser . . .], à sauoir, luy estant en Engleterre, de peur [que] ceulx qui ont conpillé ceste traison [ne luy] feissent desplesar de son corps; et à [ceste intencion] pourchassa son cõngie, disant, q̃ son fr[ere l'atendoit] à Dieppe, lequel luy auoit escript; & [pryoit ledit] Bernart ledᵗ frᵉ de [Sᵗ] Jhn, que il luy [vouleist donner] cõngie, & surce ledᵗ frᵉ de Sᵗ Jhn [fust content, vu que] Il luy promettoit de retourner [tout incontinant.]

Item au cõmenceñt que Pierqin Warbec estoit en Flandres, fut par vng seruiter dudit seigneʳ escript par plusseu[rs] foiz audit Seigneʳ de Saint Jhn lectres, que ledit Bernart en partie a veus, non pas toutes, esquelles auoit cõtenu en parolles couuertes, cõme le Marchãt du Ruby ne pouuoit vendre sa marchandise audᵗ pays de Flandres pour autant qu'il en demandoit, par quoy s'en alloit en la court du Roy des Romains, poʳ voir s'il en pouroit plus trouuer; qui est à entendre, cõme dit ledᵗ Bernart, que c'estoit Pierqin Warbec, qui ne pouuoit auoir secours en Flandres, sy grañt nũbre cõme y (*sic*) desiroit

po^{r} venir en Engleterre; le non dud^{t} seruiteur qui escripuoit les dessudites lectres est frere Guillemin de Noion.

Item estoit vng aultre marchañt en la ville de Bruges, qui est quatelan, nõmé Daniel Beauviure, qui dempuis q̃ ledit Pierqin retourna de devers le Roy de Romains en Flandres, ledit marchãt rescript aud^{t} sieur de S^{t} Jh̃n par plusseurs foiz, de quoy led^{t} Bernart n'a eu coñgnoissance que d'une lectre, en la quelle estoit cõtenu cõme led^{t} marchañt avoit dempuis naguerres de temps parlé aud^{t} frere Guillemin de Noion, et que led^{t} frere Guillemin luy auoit dit, que il auoit presque toute son argent prest à la sõme de ix ou diz mille frans, & que il manderoit aud^{t} seigne^{r} de S^{t} Jh̃n par banque, & le Marchant du Ruby iroit avecques.

Item au temps que le Roy estoit à Ourcestre, ledit Sieur [de] Saint Jh̃n estoit en la conté de Bethford, à vne place [de] la Religion de S^{t} Jh̃n, nõmée Milbourne, la [ou y (*sic*)] fist faire vng cetain (*sic*) nũbre [*de*] Jacquetes po^{r} [ses gens] de la faczon qui s'ensuit, de quoy le bas [estoit à] deux coulleurs, vert & rouge apliz, & au de[sus de] la sainture n'y auoit q̃ deux barres, l'une d[euant &] l'autre derriere, en escharpe, de la la[rgeur de quatre d]oiz, ou environ, & ce c'estoit po^{r} mectre [la Rose Rouge]; et pareillemẽ auoit fait faire vng corps tout [entier pour] chuñe Jacquecte, de pareille coulleur, & disoit [ledit sieur] q̃ chũn d'eulx le porteroit à l'arson de sa celle; [et] dit led^{t} Bernart, que ce n'estoit po^{r} aultre inten[cion] q̃ po^{r} y mectre vne Blanche Rose à chuñe Jacque[te].

Item vint vng Pietres, qui est seruite^{r} dudit Guillem[in de] Noion, qu'il enuoyet aud^{t} seigne^{r} de S^{t} Jh̃n [oue lectres], faignãt avertir le Roy de la venuee] que entendoit [faire] Pierqin en Engleterre, le quel Pietres portoit lectres, [de] quoy le Roy n'eut alors la cõgnoissace (*sic*) de toutes, [ne] pareillemẽt le d^{t} Bernart; et dist ledit Pietres [aud^{t}] Bernart, que Il auoit vnnes lectres à Thomas Brand[on], lesquelles led^{t} Pietres luy dist, q̃ I (*sic*) n'osseroit les [deliur*er*] aud^{t} Brendon, de peur que I (*sic*) n'en eust quelque desplesir, & les deliura aud^{t} f^{r} de Saint Jh̃n, [affin] q̃ Il les baillast aud^{t} Brendon, & ne peut [le dit] Bernart congnoistre autre chose dud^{t} Pietres.

Item toutes les foiz que led^{t} Sr de Saint Jh̃n [auoit] lectres de Flandres, ou aucunes nouuelles, Il [alloit] ou enuoyet à l'euesque de Winchestre, à Jh̃n [Heusse], à sire Thomas Tirel, & à l'archediacre Heusse, & [leur donn*oit*] à congnoistre toutes nouuelles, & pareillemẽt quant [les dessusd'] evesque & autres auoĩt nouuelles, Il (*sic*) luy fass[oint] sauoir, ou autremẽt le luy venoĩt dire.

Item ledit seigneur de Saint Jh̃n a esté par deux [ou] troys foiz, chũn an vne foiz, apres nouuel (*sic*) à la [maison] de sire Thomas Tirel, eulx deulx, de[uisant de] plusseurs choses, & entre les aultres cõmenza à dire [ledit] sieur de Saint Jh̃n coñt le Roy Eduard [auoit] autre[foiz] esté en ladite maison, au quel [ledit] sire Thomas respondit, que il estoit vray, [et que il] y auoit fait autresfoiz fait bonne cherre, [et que il] esperoit, au plesir Dieu, que le filz dud^{t} [Edouart] y feroit aussy bonne cherre, & que ladite [meson

auoit *estē*] faite de l'argent de France, & [que quelque jour il auoit] espoir d'engaigner de qu[oy en faire vne aultre aussy] belle; & estoit ledit [Bernart et Sr John] Thonge pressens q̃ [*quant*] les[dites parolles furent dites.]

Item le secretaire dud^t seigne^r de Saint Jh̃n, nõmé Wl̃m Outon, & vng seruite^r dud^t archediacre Heusse, nõmé Lilly, & vng aultre, qui se nõme Jh̃n Watre, lequel est seruite^r dud^t archediacre, lesquelx troys congnoissent tout la traison que lesd^s Sieurs ont entreprins de faire; led^t Lilly & led^t Jh̃n Watre cõgnoissẽt l'astrelogue qui a entreprins ceste traison, cra [*car ?*] ilz ont touz deulx demouré à Rõme; & doit le Roy faire garde, que Ilz ne sortent hors de son Royaulme. Fait à Rouan, le xiiij^e jour de mars, l'an mil iiij^cc iiij^xx xv.

De part moy Bernad
de Vanholes.

Indorsed in a contemporary hand:
La confession de Bernart de Vignolles.

APPENDIX No. V.

Letter from King Henry VII. to Dr. Rodriguez Gonsales de Puebla, Envoy from the King and Queen of Spain.

[From the Original in the British Museum.]

Henricus Dei gr̃a rex Angliæ et Franc̃ ac dñs Hyb̃niæ. Clarissimo uiro Dño Roderico Gundisalui Sere^mo^ dño^ regis et reginæ Hyspaniaꝝ Oratori nr̃o q̃^m^plīmum dilecto sal̃ et pspera ĩcremẽta. Legimus lr̃as ur̃as sextodẽcimo hui^o^ mẽsis London' datas, quib^ ĩtellexim^o^ q^a^ntope iucũda fuerit uob̃ noua de nr̃is successib^. Præſtim de pkino et eius uxore: q̃ c̃te res nulla ĩ pte nos fefellit. Tot siquidem manifestis documẽtis sincerũ ur̃ũ^ et optimũ ĩ nos aĩmũ sumus expti: ut nullu^ aliud iudiciũ de psona ur̃a fac̃e possimus, qua^ de amicissimo nr̃o: et fælicissimi nr̃i status cupidissimo. Audiuimus tñ plibenter testatã ur̃a^ litt̃is ur̃is mẽtem. Misimus istuc Vxorẽ pkini ad Ill^mam^ Dña^ reginã nr̃a^ cõsortem: Perkinũ quoq̃ quem penes nos tenemus ĩ nr̃o reditu quem ppedie^ fore putamus, nobcũ adducturi: quos uidere poteritis. Quod ũo ad Scotos attinet. Intelligimus legationem ad nos eẽ decretã: sed nõ talem nec tã honorificã qualem

a uobis audiꝺamus eẽ uẽturã. Intelleximus eniꝫ ex dño Dunelmẽse pthonrioꝫ quẽdã dũtaxat eẽ assignatũ oratorẽ. Cæꝺum de bullæ illiꝰ nr̃æ tⁿsũptis impressis et recapitulatione: ac publicatione eoꝝdm̃ fienda, Laudamus plimũ maturũ ur̃uꝫ ea ĩ re cõsiliũ: nihilo tñ minus ur̃am p'stãtiã rogãtes: ut ea oĩa sic impressa trãsumpta penes se retineat, nᵉ quouis pacto publicet ante nr̃uꝫ reditũ: quoniã nobcũ statuimus ut ipã pⁱus bulla diligenter et acurate denuo examinetur, ita q̃ etiaꝫ ĩ ipĩs tⁿsũptis nullis d'fectus, nulla ue prsus ĩcõgruitas, aut latini ꝼmonis uiciũ deprehendi possit. Ex Ciuitate nr̃a Exoniæ, die xxiij. Octobr. Mᵒcccclxxxxvijᵒ. HENRICUS R.

Addressed: Clarissimo uiro Dño Roderico Gũdisalui doctori de Puebla Sereᵐᵒꝝ dñoꝝ regis et reginæ Hispaniaꝝ Oratori nr̃o q̃ᵃplĩmum dilecto.

The seal is gone.

Read 20th April, 1837.

ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1836.

We the Auditors appointed by the Society of Antiquaries of London on the 9th day of March 1837, to audit the Accounts of their Treasurer for the year ending the 31st day of December 1836, having examined the said Accounts, together with the Vouchers relating thereto, do find the same to be just and true; and we have prepared from the said Accounts the following Abstract of the Receipts and Disbursements, for the information of the Society; viz.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Balance of last year's Account				273	19	5
RECEIPTS OF THE YEAR 1836.						
By annual Subscriptions	875	14	0			
By Admissions of Members elected	218	8	0			
By dividend on stock 3 per Cent. Consols, due 5th July 1836	195	0	0			
By Sale of Books and Prints	66	7	3			
By Stamp-duty on Bonds	21	0	0			
				1376	9	3
By Compositions in lieu of annual Subscriptions . .				462	0	0
				£2112	8	8

Stock in the 3 per Cent. Consols, 6,500*l.*

DISBURSEMENTS OF THE YEAR 1836.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
To Artists and in Expenses of Publications by the Society	954	17	7			
For Taxes	19	2	0			
For Salaries	422	15	0			
For Tradesmen's Bills, for House Expenses	129	2	7			
For Insurance	22	11	0			
For Anniversary Dinner	22	9	0			
For Postage, Parcels, Advertisements, and Petty Cash	59	0	2			
For Collecting Subscriptions	42	14	6			
For Stamps for Bonds	24	0	0			
For Solicitor's Bill	22	15	8			
				1719	7	6
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer on the 1st day of January 1837				393	1	2
				£2112	8	8

Witness our hands this 19th day of April 1837.

(Signed) GEORGE THOMAS STAUNTON.
JOHN BIDWELL.
DECIMUS BURTON.
PHILIP HUNT.

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